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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN
THE BALTIMORE, MD., AREA—PART 1

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

MAY 7 AND 8, 1957

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

INDEX IN PART 2



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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ROBERT J. McINTOSH, Michigan

RICHARD ARENS, *Director*

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 85TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1957

* * * * *

RULE X

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* * * * *

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SYNOPSIS

Investigation of Communist Activities in the Baltimore, Md., Area, Parts 1 and 2

Public hearings in Baltimore, Md., on May 7, 8, and 9, 1957, provided the Committee on Un-American Activities with further information on Communist penetration of the major industrial areas of the United States.

The most dramatic testimony came from Clifford Miller, an employee of the Bethlehem Steel mill at Sparrows Point.

Mr. Miller, a graduate of the University of West Virginia, was an active member of the Communist conspiracy until the time he took the stand to testify before the committee. In fact, he had met with his superior in the Communist Party only a couple of weeks prior to his appearance.

Mr. Miller joined the Communist Party in 1948 and remained a member during 1948 and 1949, when, he testified :

* * * as a result of my continued study of Marxism-Leninism, I decided that instead of Marxism-Leninism being an ideology that should have my support, it was a diabolical ideology that should be fought * * *.

In 1953 he rejoined the Communist Party at the behest of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He retained this role in the party until the time he appeared before the committee.

In his testimony, Mr. Miller emphasized these two points: (1) The Communist conspiracy is more menacing today than it has ever been, and (2) the Communist Party today is almost entirely underground.

Discussing the National Communist Party Convention held in New York in February of this year, Mr. Miller labeled as utter nonsense the avowed claim of the convention that the Communist Party in the United States has no direct connection with the Communist international organization directed from Moscow, or that the Communist Party does not stand for obtaining its objectives through force and violence. Mr. Miller added that such assertions "will be believed only by those who have a predilection to believe such nonsense."

Mr. Miller declared that the Bethlehem Steel plant at Sparrows Point is the focal point of Communist Party concentration in the Baltimore area; that the main duties of members of the Steel Club of the Communist Party in Baltimore were to diligently attend union meetings, to obtain positions of importance in the union, and to influence fellow steelworkers and recruit them into the Communist Party.

As an employee of Bethlehem Steel at Sparrows Point, and a member of the Steel Club of the Communist Party, Mr. Miller had learned the identity of approximately eight other Communist Party members who were also employees of Bethlehem Steel. Also, while a member of the Communist Party in 1948 and 1949, Mr. Miller had learned the identity of numerous other persons who were also party members.

One of the individuals identified by Mr. Miller as a Communist Party member was Aaron Ostrofsky, Miller's immediate superior in the party just prior to Miller's appearance and testimony. Ostrofsky, he said, was chairman of the Steel Section of the Communist Party. Called as a witness and given an opportunity to affirm or deny Mr.

Miller's charges, Mr. Ostrofsky chose to invoke the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Other Bethlehem Steel employees identified by Mr. Miller as members of the Steel Club of the Communist Party were Irving Spector, William Wood, Levy Williamson, and Benjamin M. Fino. All of these invoked the privileges of the fifth amendment when asked to affirm or deny Mr. Miller's testimony about them.

Miss Irene Barkaga, an undercover operative for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, from April 1952 to July 1954, testified at length concerning her activities in the Communist Party. During that period, she said, she met with several different groups. The size was limited for security reasons to no more than 3 or 4 members at any one time. She also met on several occasions with a group operating in the Communist Party underground and with the Communist Youth Commission of the Communist Party in Baltimore. One of the highlights of her testimony was the disclosure that the Communist Party was attempting the penetration of non-Communist and/or anti-Communist groups in Baltimore. She cited instances of Communist Party members active in groups like the Parent Teachers Association, League of Women Voters, and others. In Miss Barkaga's endeavor to obtain information for the FBI, she was also active in several recognized Communist Party fronts, including the Labor Youth League and the Baltimore Youth for Peace.

Three of the persons identified as members of the Communist Party by Miss Barkaga were subpoenaed as witnesses before the committee. They were Miss Sirkka Tuomi Lee, a secretary; Claire Friedman Round, a former school teacher; and Mr. Fred Hallengren, an airline mechanic. All three relied on the privilege of the fifth amendment to refuse answering questions concerning Communist Party membership or activities.

During the course of the hearings, the committee endeavored to obtain information on the Communist Party organizational structure of District 4, which encompasses Maryland and the District of Columbia. George A. Meyers, who was convicted under the Smith Act and released from a Federal prison during the past year, was subpoenaed as a witness. He refused, however, to state whether or not he had resumed his duties as head of District 4.

Irving Kandel, who was identified by Miller as head of District 4 in Meyers' absence, also invoked the fifth amendment concerning his present or past leadership of District 4.

William S. Johnson, who has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony by several individuals before the committee, also invoked the fifth amendment when asked whether or not he is currently head of the Communist Party in the District of Columbia.

Mrs. Jeanette Fino, identified as a Communist Party member by Mr. Miller, refused to state whether she was a member of the Communist Party or whether she is currently the distributor of the Daily Worker in the Baltimore area. She persistently invoked the fifth amendment when the committee displayed to her canceled checks drawn by her and payable to the F & D Printing Co., which prints the Daily Worker. Some of these checks were dated as recently as March 1957.

Mr. Charles Craig, who, like Clifford Miller and Irene Barkaga, had been a member of the Communist Party at the behest of Govern-

ment agencies, testified concerning his knowledge and experiences in the Communist Party. He was a member of the Communist Party from 1943 until 1951 and was assigned to three separate clubs of the Communist Party. In them he held the offices of financial secretary and literary director.

Mr. Craig identified a number of persons who were known to him to be Communist Party members. Among these were Milton Seif and Otto Yerrell, both of whom were employed at the Bethlehem shipyard in the Baltimore area. Seif had appeared before a general executive board of his union, the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, in March 1956, and had denied that he was, or had ever been, a member of the Communist Party. However, at the time, he was not placed under oath; and when questioned during the committee hearings as to the truth of his statements to the general executive board of his union, he pleaded the fifth amendment.

Yerrell likewise invoked the fifth amendment when asked to affirm or deny Mr. Craig's identification of him as a member of the Communist Party. Both Seif and Yerrell had previously been candidates for the State legislature on the Progressive Party ticket in the State of Maryland.

Another person who was identified as a Communist by Mr. Craig was Abraham Kotelchuck, a former physicist at the Aberdeen Proving Ground who was dismissed by the Government in 1946 for security reasons. He subsequently obtained employment in industry in Baltimore. Kotelchuck relied on the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist activities.

During the 3-day hearings in Baltimore, six other witnesses appeared: Mary Roberts, chairman of the Baltimore Committee To Defeat the Smith Act, who has been previously identified as a Communist Party member under oath before the Committee on Un-American Activities; Elsie Winter, an office worker who was active in the Parent Teachers Association and was identified as a Communist Party member by Mr. Craig; Milton Bates, a salesman who holds an LL. B. degree and was also identified by Craig; Herbert Nichol, a teacher at a private school in Baltimore, who has been identified under oath as a Communist Party member; Marcella Avnet, a former schoolteacher, active in the Parent Teachers Association and other organizations in the Baltimore area and who was identified by Craig and, previously, by another witness before this committee as a member of the Communist Party; and Harold Buchman, practicing attorney in Baltimore, who was cochairman of the Progressive Party for the State of Maryland.

All of them invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to furnish the committee any information concerning Communist Party activities in the Baltimore area.

The accomplishments of the hearings were summed up by the chairman of the subcommittee as—

"First, we have confirmed the pattern which we have seen in other areas of the Communist operations of the conspiracy.

"Second, we have received authoritative information by undercover agents which explodes the hoax which the Communist Party is seeking to perpetuate, that is, that it is just another innocent political movement.

"Third, we have uncovered new fronts and new techniques of the Communist Party."

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE BALTIMORE, MD., AREA—PART I

TUESDAY, MAY 7, 1957

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Baltimore, Md.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10 a. m., in room 556, Federal Building, Baltimore, Md., Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania and Robert J. McIntosh of Michigan.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, director; George C. Williams and Frank Bonora, investigators.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

Let the record show that pursuant to law and the rules of this committee, I have appointed a subcommittee for the purpose of conducting these hearings composed of Representative Edwin E. Willis of Louisiana, Representative Robert J. McIntosh of Michigan, and myself as chairman.

The authorizing resolution was adopted by the committee on January 22, 1957, and will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The resolution follows:)

A motion was made by Mr. Kearney, seconded by Mr. Willis, and unanimously carried, approving and authorizing the holding of hearings in the city of Baltimore, Md., beginning April 3, 1957, or such later date as the chairman may determine, and the conduct of investigations deemed reasonably necessary by the staff in preparation therefor, the subject of which hearings and the investigations in connection therewith to include, in general, all matters within the jurisdiction of the committee.

Let there also be inserted in the record at this point the order by myself as chairman appointing this subcommittee.

(The order follows:)

To the Clerk of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives:

ORDER FOR APPOINTMENT OF SUBCOMMITTEE

Pursuant to the provisions of law and the rules of this committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, consisting of Hon. Edwin E. Willis and Hon. Robert J. McIntosh, associate members, and myself as chairman, to hold hearings in Baltimore, Md., beginning on May 7, 1957, on all matters within the jurisdiction of the committee, and to take testimony on said day or any succeeding days, and at such times and places as it may deem necessary, until its work is completed.

The clerk of the committee is directed to immediately notify the appointees of their appointment and to file this order as an official committee record in the order book kept for that purpose.

Given under my hand this 2d day of May 1957.

FRANCIS E. WALTER,
*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

The hearings of this subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities here in Baltimore, which begin today, are in furtherance of the powers and duties of the committee pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 601 of the 79th Congress, which not only establishes the broad jurisdiction of this committee, but mandates the committee, along with other standing committees of the Congress, to exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of the committee. A copy of the pertinent provisions of this law and rules at this point will be inserted in the record.

(The documents referred to follow:)

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

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17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

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For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

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RULES ADOPTED BY THE 85TH CONGRESS

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* * * * *

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

Accordingly, within the framework of this broad jurisdiction and objectives, this subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities is here in Baltimore for the purpose of receiving testimony respecting Communist activities. The importance of this area from the standpoint of national security cannot be overemphasized. In the first place, the Communist Party itself groups Baltimore and Washington, D. C., as part of the same geographical jurisdiction. Thus, Communist activity in Baltimore has a direct connection with the web of subversion which the conspiracy seeks to weave at the Nation's capital. Furthermore, the city of Baltimore is not only a great seaport which, I understand, ranks high in annual total tonnage, but is likewise a center for certain heavy industry which is vital to the defense of this country.

One phase of our inquiry here which will be of special concern relates to the so-called "new look" of the Communist apparatus as devised by the recent national convention of the Communist Party held in February in New York City. We expect new strategy and new tactics—all designed to ensnare and deceive the unwary. Of one thing we are positive: The objective of the conspiracy will remain unchanged.

At this time, I should like to call attention to certain fundamental procedures and policies of the committee which will be observed during these hearings. First of all, there will, of course, be no smoking at any time. No outbursts or evidence of approval or disapproval of any witnesses' statements will be permitted. The deputy marshals will escort from the room any persons who are disorderly. All witnesses are accorded the privilege of counsel whose sole prerogative in these proceedings is to advise their clients of their legal rights. The photographers are permitted to take photographs of the witnesses any time before they are sworn, but if the witness objects to being photographed after he is sworn, pictures may not then be taken.

Mr. ARENS, will you call your first witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Clifford Miller, please come forward.

Kindly remain standing, Mr. Miller, while the chairman administers an oath to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand, please. Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MILLER. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down, please.

TESTIMONY OF CLIFFORD C. MILLER, JR.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. MILLER. My name is Clifford C. Miller. I live at 4802 Herring Run Drive, Baltimore 14, Md. And I am a steelworker. I work at Sparrows Point for Bethlehem Steel.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Miller, are you now at this moment a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I expect in the course of the interrogation, Mr. Miller, to inquire of you as to elements respecting your entire career in the Communist Party, but for present purposes, at the moment I should

like to ask you are you ideologically in sympathy with the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir; I am not.

Mr. ARENS. Your service in the Communist Party now is, and has been, as an undercover operative for intelligence agencies of your Government, is that correct?

Mr. MILLER. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. When did you last meet with the Communist Party as a Communist?

Mr. MILLER. My last such meeting with a comrade in the Communist Party, who is my superior, was on April 25 of this year.

Mr. ARENS. And just in passing, who is that comrade in the Communist Party who is your superior in that operation?

Mr. MILLER. Aaron Ostrofsky.

Mr. ARENS. Would you for this record kindly spell both his first and last name?

Mr. MILLER. A-a-r-o-n O-s-t-r-o-f-s-k-y.

Mr. ARENS. And when did you last meet with the staff of the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. MILLER. I met with the staff of the House Committee on Un-American Activities yesterday afternoon at 4:30 in Clifton Park.

Mr. ARENS. And under what name have you been known in arrangements between yourself and the staff of the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Sears.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Miller, I should like you to give us just a résumé account of the last meeting which you had with the Communist Party which I understood you to say a few moments ago was on April 25, 1957, at which time your superior, Aaron Ostrofsky, gave you certain instructions.

Mr. MILLER. The meeting of April 25 was unique in this sense: It deviated from the customary agenda of our meetings in that the entire discussion of the meeting concerned itself with the impending arrival of the House committee to this city.

Mr. ARENS. Just tell us in your own words what transpired in that session.

Mr. MILLER. Well, Comrade Ostrofsky spoke in a highly critical voice concerning this committee, but he said that he didn't think that a great deal could be accomplished by this committee. He felt that the committee might very well wind up its hearings in 1 day.

Mr. ARENS. You were at that time under subpoena for all intents and purposes as a hostile witness, were you not?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What did Comrade Ostrofsky tell you with respect to your demeanor before this committee?

Mr. MILLER. Well, as an alleged loyal member of the party, I brought out the fact to him that I thought that the only thing I could do would be to rely upon the fifth amendment in my testimony before this committee.

He concurred in that but he added the strong recommendation that I get in touch with a lawyer.

Mr. ARENS. Did he give you any instruction with reference to your conduct at the place of your employment?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir; he did.

Mr. ARENS. And what were those instructions?

Mr. MILLER. He stated that it would be advantageous to me to inform my fellow workers of the fact that I had received a subpoena, that I should inform the officers of my local union, local union 2610, and that I should in addition inform the district office of our union concerning the fact that I had been subpoenaed before this committee.

Mr. ARENS. Did he tell what your response should be if you were interrogated by any of the officials at your place of employment with respect to your Communist Party membership?

Mr. MILLER. Well, he didn't give me explicit instructions as to what I should say to the officials of the company. However, Comrade Ostrofsky did tell me in the event that the president of my local union, John Ruke, if he were to approach me concerning the subpoena, and would hence try to elicit from me information as to whether I am or am not a Communist, that I should then inform him that I am not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Before we go back and pick up the threads of your career in the Communist Party, would you tell this committee what was the appraisal of Mr. Ostrofsky of this committee and its staff?

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Ostrofsky—and I don't think that his opinion was unique for a member of the Communist Party—Mr. Ostrofsky's opinion of this committee was about as low as it could possibly be. He felt that this committee was here to harass people, to try to blow up its own importance, and to try to grab headlines. He felt that the committee serves no salutary purpose in our society, and that it would be just as well, if not better, if the committee were dissolved.

He called my attention to the fact that the California Bar Association had come out against the committee. He pointed out that Representative James Roosevelt of California contemplates offering a resolution to the House of Representatives calling for the dissolution of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he call to your attention the fact that when the House voted for the appropriation for this committee it was a unanimous vote, including that of Mr. Roosevelt?

Mr. MILLER. He didn't allude to that; no, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Miller, please tell us where and when you were born.

Mr. MILLER. I was born in Charleston, W. Va., on April 24, 1921.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, sir, just a word of your formal education.

Mr. MILLER. I had 3 years—I was rather fortunate in that I was able in those 3 years to get a B. A. degree in history at West Virginia University. I went to summer school 1 year so I was able to get through the customary 4-year curriculum in 3 years.

Mr. ARENS. When did you complete your formal education?

Mr. MILLER. In 1942.

Mr. ARENS. Please tell us the chronology of your principal employments beginning at the time of the completion of your education.

Mr. MILLER. Well, I worked for the city of Morgantown for about 8 months prior to coming to Baltimore. I came to Baltimore in April of 1943, and almost immediately after coming here I became employed by the Glenn L. Martin Co. I worked for that company until June of 1945. Then I had a couple of short jobs and in De-

ember—I mean jobs of short duration—then in December of 1945 I commenced working for Bethlehem Steel Co. at Sparrows Point.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly tell us the chronology of events, if you please, sir, which led to your joining of the Communist Party. And I particularly invite your attention to the matter of dates so that this record is clear as to the time that you actually joined the party, and the time of certain activities which we will discuss in a few moments.

Mr. MILLER. My best recollection on that, Mr. Arens, is that I entered the Communist Party in October of 1948.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us of the events which led to your joining the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I became involved rather actively in the 1948 Progressive Party campaign and it was in connection with that that I met the people who—they didn't exactly recruit me—I went in on my own volition, but I met the people whom I was later to know in the party as Communists.

Mr. ARENS. As of 1948, when you joined the party, were you ideologically in sympathy with the party as you understood it?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. ARENS. Please tell us who recruited you into the Communist Party.

Mr. MILLER. Well, the two comrades who were most eager to get me to become a member of their party were Bob Lee and Joe Greenberg.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly pause when you identify any particular person, and give us a little description of that person. First of all, who is Bob Lee?

Mr. MILLER. Bob Lee at that time worked at Bethlehem Steel and he was quite active in the Wallace movement. And he came to my home and talked to me about becoming more active. I had indicated an interest in the Wallace movement, and he came to my home in the spring of 1948 and spoke to me along the lines of helping to organize a steelworkers-for-Wallace movement at Sparrows Point among the steelworkers.

Mr. ARENS. Did he subsequently recruit you into the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I would like to emphasize that it wasn't basically that I was prevailed upon by him or by any one to join the party. I joined the party because at that time I was in sympathy with the Marxist ideology, and I felt that the Communist Party was the most effective vehicle for making the Communist ideology prevail.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us who is the Joe Greenberg you alluded to a few moments ago?

Mr. MILLER. He is a person whom I met shortly after I met Bob Lee, and I met him also in connection with the Progressive Party campaign. I met him as a steelworker and he was one of the active people in the steelworkers-for-Wallace movement.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever serve in a closed Communist Party meeting with Joe Greenberg?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you here and now identify Bob Lee and Joe Greenberg as persons who, to your certain knowledge, were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. I would say "were." I cannot testify as to their present membership. I can state categorically that in 1948 and 1949 they were members of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. What was your first unit to which you were assigned in the Communist Party after you joined it in 1948?

Mr. MILLER. I was made affiliated with the Steel Club.

Mr. ARENS. And can you tell us a little bit about the Steel Club?

Mr. MILLER. Well, the Steel Club would meet—I must point out that steelworkers are shift workers and in order for all of them to be able to attend a meeting it is necessary to have a morning meeting and an evening meeting. That was customary at that time; for a morning meeting and evening to be held on a particular day.

Those meetings would usually be held once a week or possibly every 2 weeks.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us, if you please, sir, the names of the persons who, to your certain knowledge, were members of the Steel Club of the Communist Party.

Mr. MILLER. In the 1948-49 period?

Mr. ARENS. In the 1948-49 period.

Mr. MILLER. All right, sir.

Bob Lee, Joe Greenberg, who have already been so identified, Aaron Ostrofsky—

Mr. ARENS. Would you hesitate a moment on each name and give us a word of description?

Mr. MILLER. Yes. Do you mean physical description?

Mr. ARENS. Just a little characterization of him. What post did he have in the Steel Club, who he is, and in this particular instance it is obvious, I take it, that he is the man who is presently your superior in the Communist Party.

Mr. MILLER. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. At least was until the time you took your oath before this committee a few moments ago.

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another person known by you to be a Communist in the Steel Club? And this is at Bethlehem; is it not?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir. You want me to continue to identify people who were members of the club?

Mr. ARENS. To your certain knowledge. Those with whom you served in closed Communist Party meetings; yes, sir.

Mr. MILLER. Ben Fino.

Mr. ARENS. Please pause and give us just a word on Ben Fino. Is that B-e-n F-i-n-o?

Mr. MILLER. Yes. That is correct.

He is a heavy-set rather swarthy person. I believe he is of Mexican origin. Young. I would say he is in his early thirties.

Mr. ARENS. What did he do in the Steel Club? Did he hold any post of significance?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir; Comrade Fino was not what any of us considered a particularly brilliant member of the party.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another person who to your certain knowledge was a member of the Steel Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. Bill Wood.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, sir, a word of description of Bill Wood.

Mr. MILLER. Bill Wood is a man of about my age, around 46, 48. He has very light hair and blue eyes. And he appears to be of perhaps Scandinavian origin, from his appearance.

Mr. ARENS. Was there another person who to your certain knowledge was a member of the Steel Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. Levy Williamson.

Mr. ARENS. L-e-v-y?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Williamson, W-i-l-l-i-a-m-s-o-n?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word of description about him, if you please, sir.

Mr. MILLER. He was a colored comrade of small build, and medium weight. I would say he was about 5 feet 6 inches or 5 feet 5 inches, and not very heavy.

Mr. ARENS. Please tell us is there any other person who was a member of the Steel Club to which you were attached at Bethlehem Steel.

Mr. MILLER. Howard Silverberg.

Mr. ARENS. S-i-l-v-e-r-b-e-r-g?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Howard Silverberg?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a description of him, please, sir.

Mr. MILLER. Comrade Silverberg's occupational background was not in the steel industry. Comrade Silverberg, I feel quite certain from information that he gave me, was in the main a seaman. But he had taken employment in the Bethlehem Steel Co. and it was in line with the policy of the party to get its members concentrated in heavy industry. And for the Baltimore area that would be the steel industry.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another person who, to your certain knowledge, was a member of the Steel Club of the Communist Party at Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. MILLER. There was, yes. There was Joe Henderson.

Mr. ARENS. How do you spell Henderson?

Mr. MILLER. I believe it is H-e-n-d-e-r-s-o-n.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us a description of him, please, sir?

Mr. MILLER. He, too, was one of our Negro comrades, fairly tall individual about, I would say about 5 feet 11 inches, of lean or slender build, and he also belonged to my local 2610.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another person who, to your certain knowledge, was a member of the Steel Club of the Communist Party at Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. MILLER. There was one comrade who was a member of the party at the time but he was expelled from the party. Whether he has since been restored to the good graces of the Communist Party, I wouldn't know. But he was a member of the party part of the time in that 1948-49 period, but he was expelled from the party some time, I believe, in the late summer of 1949.

Mr. ARENS. And who was he, please, sir?

Mr. MILLER. Phil Gran.

Mr. ARENS. G-r-a-n?

Mr. MILLER. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Who was in charge of this particular club of the Communist Party at Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. MILLER. George Meyers.

Mr. ARENS. Do you hear and now identify him as a person who to your certain knowledge was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir. He was the labor secretary of the Communist Party at that time.

Mr. ARENS. What is the main objective of the Steel Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. Well, sir, the main objective of the Steel Club of the Communist Party was to try to exert influence upon our fellow steelworkers, try to recruit them into the party, try to get the policies of the party into our union—into our trade union, and along that line it was one of our prime, one of our cardinal, duties as comrades to attend union meetings.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any special assignments in your work in the Steel Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I had the duty of attending union meetings, the obligation of reading the party literature, the Daily and Sunday Worker, and of course the far more authoritative party publication, the publication called Political Affairs. And Masses and Mainstream, we also read that.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any responsibility or assignment to compile a report on certain matters at the direction of your superior in the Steel Club?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir. I was. I was given a research job for the party by my superior in the party, George Meyers. I was called upon by him to compile data concerning the steel industry: its ramifications, its productivity, the number of employees, and so on. General information about the steel industry that was available in the public library and it was there that I procured the information.

Mr. ARENS. In passing, perhaps you would be a little reluctant to admit it, you were a Phi Beta Kappa, were you not, in school?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. ARENS. It is an honorary scholastic fraternity, is it not?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Why would the Communist Party desire a penetration in the steel industry?

Mr. MILLER. Well, that goes back to the basic theories of the Communist Party. I don't want to get into a long-winded discussion which perhaps wouldn't serve the public good here, for the purposes of this committee, but the Communist Party considers that the group in society that will carry forward the revolutionary aims is the working class. And they particularly feel that the workers who are employed in large basic industries are the ones who will play the key class role in the impending revolutionary struggle.

Therefore, in an area such as Baltimore, the Communist Party would naturally look to the largest aggregation of workers as the group which should be the focal point of their concentration, and that would be the Sparrows Point area.

Mr. ARENS. At this point, Mr. Miller, I should like to ask you, on the basis of your extensive experience in the Communist Party, which I think will be evident as we proceed in the chronology of your experiences, how serious is the Communist Party now to the security and welfare of this Nation? Is it just an aggregation of intellectual crackpots, or is it a serious conspiracy?

Mr. MILLER. In my opinion, and I have had—of course, as this testimony will bring out—I have had intimate association with the Communist conspiracy. In my opinion the Communist conspiracy is more menacing today than it has ever been.

Mr. ARENS. How far underground is the conspiracy?

Mr. MILLER. It is way underground. It is almost entirely underground.

Mr. ARENS. After you compiled this report, to whom did you deliver it?

Mr. MILLER. The report was delivered and was turned in at the Communist Party headquarters. At that time the party still had public headquarters at North Liberty Street. I believe it was 220 North Liberty Street here in Baltimore, and I turned this report in to Dorothy Rose Blumberg.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us during the course of this early experience of yours in the Communist Party, during the period of 1948 and 1949, whether or not you attended study classes under the auspices of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, I did. Like so much other activity of the Communist Party, they would start out with plans for periodic study and then those plans are not followed through with any great consistency. I did attend some study groups, however. Not many. But most of my study was done on my own initiative, that is, I read quite a few of the Leninist classics, and it was always made clear to me that the basic Marxist-Leninist classics were the ultimate bible of the Communist Party.

Now, of course when you speak to Communists, they point out that they don't take a dogmatic view of the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. But when you get into the philosophical background of their beliefs, it is to those books that one must turn and to which they always turn.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Miller, in the recent Communist Party National Convention in the United States, held in New York City in February, they had two general themes which they announced to the world. The first is that the Communist Party does no longer, if it ever did, stand for its objectives by a device of force and violence, and secondly, that it has no immediate direct connection with the international organization directed from Moscow.

On the basis of your background and intimate experience in the Communist Party as of this moment, please give us your appraisal of those two themes.

Mr. MILLER. I think those two themes are utter nonsense, and I think that they will be believed only by those who have a predilection to believe such nonsense. If you would like me to elaborate a bit, I will.

Mr. ARENS. I don't want to impose upon you for an extensive dissertation on this, but I should like to have a brief summary, if you please, of the facts which cause you to reach that conclusion.

Mr. MILLER. Well, I would draw the counsel's attention to the Khrushchev speeches. There were two important speeches. And I would draw his attention to those speeches in which the emphasis is placed upon a return to Leninism.

A return to Leninism, by no stretch of the imagination, could be construed as a return to a more tranquil, pacific type of goal. Because

all one has to do is to read the basic writings of Lenin, and I think one of the most instructive of those is the greatest classic, *What Is To Be Done*. One has only to read those to know that the Communist movement is dedicated to the violent overthrow of established governments. I know that it has been the defense line of people who have been brought up before on Smith Act charges and so on, to say that what the prosecution or what the Government has done has been to take these Leninist sentences out of context. But I say that anyone can read those studies, those classical studies; and those sentences that allude to the use of force and violence are not taken out of context.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of your membership in the Communist Party—and we are now continuing in this 1948–49 period so the record will be clear, could you tell us the names of any other persons with whom you served in closed Communist Party meetings, who were to a certainty known by you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. Jack Zucker was one such person.

Mr. ARENS. Would you give us just a word of description of Jack Zucker. Is it Z-u-c-k-e-r?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word of description of him, please, sir.

Mr. MILLER. I would say he was about the counsel's size and build. He had graying hair. It was somewhat curly, as I recall, and I believe he had light eyes, I believe, possibly blue.

Mr. ARENS. What was his function as you knew him in the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. Well, it came somewhat as a surprise to me to know that he was a Communist. I knew him—actually, it shouldn't have surprised me too much because by the time I found out that he was a member of the Communist Party, I had also found out that many of my progressive colleagues, that is, colleagues in the Progressive Party, were also members of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Was he a member of the Steel Club?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir; he wasn't.

Mr. ARENS. He was a member of another unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. He was a member of another unit.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall the unit to which he was attached?

Mr. MILLER. I wouldn't know. I would know he was an organizer for the United Electrical Workers Union. I know that. But just what the name of his unit would be, I don't know. I know that he attended one of those study classes that I was present at, and in which we discussed Lenin's Theory of Spontaneous Generation—something of spontaneity.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know where Jack Zucker is now?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. ARENS. You said you do not know?

Mr. MILLER. I do not know.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another person, irrespective of the unit of the Communist Party, to which he or she was attached here in Baltimore, who to your certain knowledge was during this 1948–49 period a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. Jeanette Fino.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word of description of her, Mr. Miller, if you please. Is that F-i-n-o?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir. She is a tall, rather slender lady. I would imagine she is in her early thirties, and I have come in contact with her in connection with the Progressive Party movement, and later on I saw her at membership meetings, closed membership meetings of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another person in like status whom you can now under oath identify as a person known by you to a certainty to be a Communist?

Mr. MILLER. Well, there was—of course I have mentioned George Meyers. There was Phil Frankfeld and his wife, Regina Frankfeld.

Mr. ARENS. Were they Smith Act defendants?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, they were.

Mr. ARENS. Was George Meyers a Smith Act defendant?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Elsie Smith?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir, she is now deceased. I knew her as a Communist.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Sally Winkler, W-i-n-k-l-e-r?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir; and also Irving Winkler.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us just a word of description about Sally Winkler and Irving Winkler?

Mr. MILLER. They were both young people. Sally had dark hair and Irv, I believe, also had dark hair.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a comrade, as a Communist, a person by the name of Sam Schmerler, S-c-h-m-e-r-l-e-r?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir. I don't believe I did.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a comrade, a person by the name of Ruth Fox?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly give us a word of description of that person?

Mr. MILLER. At that time she was a heavy-set brunette. In recent years, when I have seen her I have noticed she has lost some weight. She is a rather young person, too.

Mr. ARENS. What has been the nature of her activities?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I can only allude to the fact that when the Communist Party had public headquarters on Liberty Street, I ran into her as a functionary there. I think she was in some kind of secretarial position. I also encountered her in the Progressive Party and she was on the trip to Washington, the pilgrimage to Washington to protest the Mundt-Nixon bill. She was in on that.

Mr. ARENS. Have you served in closed-party sessions with her?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person, or have you known a person, by the name of Mama Isaacs?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I am a little puzzled by that name. Is that M-a-m-a?

Mr. MILLER. I think that is a term of endearment that she—it is not her real name, of course. It is just an appellation.

Mr. ARENS. Something like Mother Bloor?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. I-s-a-a-c-s, is that correct?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word of description of her, please.

Mr. MILLER. She is an elderly lady. Probably in her sixties, I would think, of medium height and weight, and has gray hair.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know such a person as Lil Fenn, L-i-l F-e-n-n?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us a description of her?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir. She wore glasses, I believe, and she was probably in her middle thirties, and she had brown eyes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know her as a Communist?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Al and Willie Blank. Do you know them?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir. I know both of them as members of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. And give us a description of them, please, sir.

Mr. MILLER. They were young lads whom I encountered prior to having known them as members of the Communist Party, as members of the Young Progressives of America. They were two extremely articulate participants in that activity. They were young men, I think they were a few years younger than myself. I guess they are in their early thirties now.

Both have dark hair. Al was somewhat heavier than Willie. Willie was on the slim side.

Mr. ARENS. Phil Frankfeld, F-r-a-n-k-f-e-l-d? Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir. At the 1948-49 period—and of course this is public knowledge—he was the head of District 4 of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. And he was a defendant in the Smith Act trials?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Jack Freishtat. Did you know him as a comrade?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, a word about him.

Mr. MILLER. I met Comrade Freishtat the first time on a bus trip over to Washington in June of 1948 for the purpose of protesting the Mundt-Nixon bill. And at that time, of course, I didn't know him as a Communist. But later on I saw him, he attended Communist Party meetings at which I was present.

Mr. ARENS. The Mundt-Nixon bill, in passing, was the legislation which has now become the Internal Security Act, anti-Communist legislation; isn't that correct?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a comrade a person by the name of Corinne Wood? C-o-r-i-n-n-e W-o-o-d?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word of description about her, please.

Mr. MILLER. She too is a brunette in her thirties, I would say, of somewhat above average height, and of medium weight. She wears glasses.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have recollection as to any activities in which she engaged as a Communist?

Mr. MILLER. My only recollection on that would be that she was present—she was present at Communist Party meetings at which I was present.

Mr. ARENS. Roy Wood. Have you identified him?

No, you talked about Bill Wood, did you not?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Roy Wood, did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. MILLER. Yes. He was not a member of our Steel Club, but I did know him as a Communist.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us a description of Roy Wood?

Mr. MILLER. He is somewhat—my recollection is—he is somewhat smaller and less heavy than his brother Bill.

Mr. ARENS. He is the brother of Bill Wood; is that correct?

Mr. MILLER. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. And do you have a recollection of any specific activities which he engaged in in the 1948-49 period?

Mr. MILLER. No. I can't think of any. I know he was present at some of the meetings at which I was present. I know that he had, I believe that he had, been a member of the Steel Club at one time, but the time that I was in the party, was not a member. He had gone way out into left field and made an open avowal of his Communist affiliation, and I think that resulted in his being removed from his employment.

Mr. ARENS. Mrs. Howard Silverberg. Did you know her as a Communist?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And please tell us a word of description of her. S-i-l-v-e-r-b-e-r-g. Is that it?

Mr. MILLER. That is correct. She was Howard Silverberg's wife, and she was a woman who, I say, would be in her forties, a brunette, rather tall, and of medium build.

Mr. ARENS. Claire Newman. N-e-w-m-a-n. Do you know that person?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, I knew her as a Communist.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a description about her?

Mr. MILLER. She was a short, somewhat plump individual in her late thirties or early forties. She was in one of the other types of clubs. I know that. She was in one of the Communist clubs.

Mr. ARENS. Now, in 1949 the so-called Ober law passed in this State, did it not?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did the Communist Party take any steps to revamp its organizational structure as a result of the passage of the Ober law and thereafter the Internal Security Act and other anti-Communist legislation?

Mr. MILLER. While the Communist Party has ridiculed the Ober law, and cast aspersions upon those who have been charged with its enforcement, they nevertheless among themselves were very much upset, and very much disturbed by the passage of this law. They were extremely elated, I might point out in passing, they were extremely elated at Judge Sherbo's decision declaring the law unconstitutional. They considered that a major victory for them in this area. And when the law was—when it became clear that the law looked like it

was going to pass, that resulted in the party in this area setting up very drastic security measures.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us a word about those security measures taken by the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. I can speak with some intimate knowledge of that, because up until those measures were put into effect, I had been meeting with our Steel Club, that is, the full contingent of the Steel Club. And after those measures were put in effect the Steel Club, as such, no longer met. Henceforth, meetings were held in much smaller groups. For instance, Comrade Lee was my superior and he was put in charge of me and another comrade. And the three of us would meet from time to time, although usually—

Mr. ARENS. You might hesitate there, if you please, sir, and tell us who were the three who met in this revised unit.

Mr. MILLER. There was Comrade Lee and myself and one of the Negro comrades. I believe I failed to mention his name.

Mr. ARENS. What is his name?

Mr. MILLER. His name is Giles Hobart.

Mr. ARENS. Would you spell that for us, please?

Mr. MILLER. G-i-l-e-s, is the first name. The last name spelling I am a little unsure of. H-o-b-a-r-t, I think. But I wouldn't want to be held to that.

Mr. ARENS. Proceed, if you please, sir.

Mr. MILLER. The theory was that, in this small group of which I was a member, I knew who my superior was; naturally the other comrade knew who he was too. He knew who I was and I knew who he was. Theoretically, we weren't supposed to know—we were supposed to forget who the other people were that we had been meeting with previously in the enlarged club. We were supposed to forget who other comrades were who had been in other clubs and whom we had seen from time to time in these enlarged public meetings.

Mr. ARENS. We have heard elsewhere, Mr. Miller, of what the other witnesses have described as a cutout system. Are you aware of the cutout system in the Communist Party structural apparatus now?

Mr. MILLER. Well, that word "cutout" doesn't ring a bell with me. If you explain it perhaps—

Mr. ARENS. Do the members of one unit have knowledge, as a rule, now of the personnel in similar units within the same plant who are in the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. The top man in a three-man group knows who his superior is. And on up the line in the hierarchy. But the person at the bottom in any group doesn't know who the other members are.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, let me see if I comprehend clearly what you are saying. At Bethlehem Steel you are now, at least until you took this oath and began to testify, a member of a Communist Party unit?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. At Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. MILLER. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. The unit to which you presently are assigned is a very small unit, is it not?

Mr. MILLER. Extremely small; yes.

Mr. ARENS. Who, to your certain knowledge, are members of the present unit at Bethlehem Steel to which you are attached?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I would have to go into that. If you wanted to touch on that chronologically, it would be better to go into that later. But I can go into it here if you would like.

Mr. ARENS. We will proceed to do it chronologically.

Do you presently know the basis of your status with this cutout system of the Communist Party, the names of other persons in other Communist cells at Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. MILLER. I know, as a result of my having been shifted around in the apparatus, I know of the names of other people in the party. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. But do you know their identity within specific cells in Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. MILLER. No; I don't.

Mr. ARENS. Are you informed, however, of the probability, we will put it, of other cells in existence in Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. MILLER. Yes. That was brought to my attention very dramatically. I was in a 3-man cell up until December, and then our group seemed to fall apart. One of our comrades became ill. The other comrade appeared to be on the verge of a very grave right-wing deviation, and didn't want to continue as a leader of the club. He had been the leader. He didn't want to continue. So I seemed at that time to be the only sturdy bulwark in that particular group. So arrangements were made for me to meet in the future with Comrade Ostrofsky, and I have been meeting with him since the day after Christmas.

Mr. ARENS. And that, in and of itself, under the new security arrangements, forms one cell?

Mr. MILLER. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Within the operation of the conspiracy in this area at Bethlehem, is that correct?

Mr. MILLER. My understanding is, Mr. Arens, that no cell meeting at the present time under the arrangements—and these arrangements now are just as they were when the Ober law was imminent, they were put in to effect then and they have been in effect all the time—

The CHAIRMAN. Who devised the program, do you know?

Mr. MILLER. Sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Who devised this so-called security program?

Mr. MILLER. That would be a little difficult for me to give firsthand evidence on because of the nature of the organization, even at the time—even at the time that this stringent security system was put into effect. The nature of the organization was such that a rank and file member like myself wouldn't be informed who made the decision. The policy was for decisions to be made from the top and to trickle down to us.

Mr. ARENS. Is that democratic centralism as they call it in the party?

Mr. MILLER. That is what is euphemistically referred to as democratic centralism. I think the emphasis should be on the centralism part.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, it is a dictatorship democracy?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Of conflicting ideologies.

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Let us revert, if you please, so that we continue in the theme of your career in the Communist Party in the 1948-49 period,

Mr. Miller. How long did you remain in the Communist Party during this period of your activity and membership in the party?

Mr. MILLER. I remained in the party 1 year. Maybe a month more or less. It was approximately 1 year.

Mr. ARENS. And then what happened, please, sir?

Mr. MILLER. At that time I would like to point out that when I entered the Communist Party I had already, while I was a Marxist, I had begun to have certain doubts about the basic ideology of Marxism which is dialectical materialism. I felt, though, that those doubts were not strong enough for me to renounce Marxism so what I would do, I would get in the party and if those doubts were resolved, I would be an established member in an effective revolutionary organization. If they weren't resolved, if they became more pronounced, then I would get out.

It turned out that, while I made every effort to get my doctrinal problems cleared up, I read Plekhanov's Treatises on Freedom and went into them very carefully. I had a very profound discussion with Comrade Bob Lee on the problems that were troubling me. But instead of my doubts concerning the validity of Marxism being cleared up, they became more pronounced and things that I saw about the party made me become more skeptical about the party. So that as a result of my experience in the party, as a result of my continued study of Marxism-Leninism, I decided that instead of Marxism-Leninism being an ideology that should have my support, it was a diabolical ideology that should be fought and that I should have no part of it. Therefore, I dropped out of the party in the latter part of 1949.

Mr. ARENS. And how long were you out of the party?

Mr. MILLER. I was out of the party for almost 4 years.

Mr. ARENS. We use the term "party" in common parlance?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. It isn't a party, is it? It is a conspiracy?

Mr. MILLER. Well, only the naive, only the totalitarian liberal type of thinker today, knowing what we know today, could consider the Communist Party as just another party. I have heard it expressed, I have heard that view expressed very recently, and to be frank with you, it turned my stomach because I felt that the person who expressed it surely knew better than to think such a thing.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us, if you please, sir, the circumstances of your reaffiliation with the Communist Party.

Mr. MILLER. Well, I received a phone call—

Mr. ARENS. Was that from an intelligence agency of this Government?

Mr. MILLER. Yes. I was getting to that.

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MILLER. I received a phone call in August, 1952, from an agency of the Government, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. They requested me to come down and have a chat with them. I did. And they interrogated me in great detail. They elicited from me the same type of information that you are now having me bring out. They went into my thinking, my motivation for having been in the party, my reasons for going out. They really gave me a very thorough interrogation.

Then they asked me if I would be interested in trying to get back into the party, into the Communist Party, and have relationship, or have contact with them. That is, be in the party for them.

Mr. ARENS. Let me be sure we have this correct. Was that in the fall of 1952?

Mr. MILLER. That would be in August that I was first approached about getting back into the party.

Now, it took almost a year. It took almost a year for me to get back into the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, sir, just a word about the device that you used to get back in the party. How did you go about becoming a comrade again?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I attacked it on two fronts. I knew that one of the cardinal obligations of a comrade is to attend his union meetings; and some time in the course of this interrogation, I hope to get an opportunity to make the record unequivocally clear on our union. I hope that I get that opportunity sometime in this interrogation.

Mr. ARENS. I will make a note of that and if I forget to ask you about it later on, you just volunteer it. But I think it would be helpful if we just stay in the chronology now.

Mr. MILLER. All right.

I had been somewhat lax, as so many of us steelworkers are—and I suppose other workers are, too—I had been somewhat lax about attending union meetings. So when I decided to try to get back into the Communist Party I attended union meetings regularly. I didn't miss any of my local union meetings. I went to every one of them. But I didn't stop there. That was in 1952.

I also presented myself to the Progressive Party headquarters here in Baltimore—they were on Pennsylvania Avenue at that time—and I offered my services in the Hallinan Bass campaign; I offered to do what I could to help the campaign out.

In addition to that, there fell into my hands a blank to be sent in in regard to the Civil Rights Congress—anyone interested. I figured that would be a good group to get into, to sort of move me along. So I sent that in, and I joined the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. ARENS. The record is perfectly clear, is it not, that you were not as of this period in sympathy with the Communist Party? You abhorred it. You were only using these devices through various Communist fronts to ultimately become reaffiliated with the Communist Party so that you could serve your Government? Is that correct?

Mr. MILLER. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. That was at the behest and instigation and suggestion and request of an intelligence agency of this Government?

Mr. MILLER. That is true.

Mr. ARENS. Proceed, if you please, sir.

Mr. MILLER. Another activity that I engaged in in that period was the Rosenberg campaign. The campaign to obtain clemency for the Rosenbergs. I made three trips to Washington in connection with that, and picketed the White House on three occasions.

Another thing I did was, I was put in charge for a time of getting renewals and subscriptions to the National Guardian. So I engaged in that quite a bit. And I think the combination of these activities, plus the contact that I made with former comrades, resulted in my eventual restoration to the party.

But it took, as I say, it took over a year for me to get back in.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Arens, I think this would be a good time for a break.

The committee will stand in recess for about 5 minutes.

(Brief recess.)

(Committee members present: Representatives Walter and McIntosh.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Mr. ARENS. Before the recess, Mr. Miller, you were describing the process by which you had reaffiliated with the Communist Party. Would you at this time tell us the date when you actually became a Communist again?

Mr. MILLER. That would be in the early part of September 1953.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly tell us the incident or incidents which actually caused you to be a Communist again.

Mr. MILLER. Well, I said I resumed going to union meetings. And one night there was, I believe in January, I sat down by Levy Williamson. I nudged him, and I reached over and whispered to him and I said, "I would like to get back in." I didn't indicate what I would like to get back into, but apparently he knew what I meant.

A few weeks later George Meyers paid me a visit at my residence, and he brought me several issues of the Cominform Bulletin—at that time the Cominform Bulletin was still printed—and which had been in the party. I had always liked to read the Cominform Bulletin because it gives a good global picture of the Communist conspiracy. So he left me several copies of that. That was in March of 1953.

I felt quite elated by his visit because I felt that that meant that I was just practically back in the party. But it turned out that I was in error, that I had several more months to spend before I was to be readmitted into the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us the essence of what transpired in those several months?

Mr. MILLER. Well, the most intense activity, of course, was the Rosenberg thing. That was the thing that had the great dramatic punch. That was the thing that the conspiracy, the Communist conspiracy, hoped would help to depict American justice as a fraud and a farce. That was the most intense type of activity.

Mr. ARENS. Were you told to study certain documents in this interim period before you actually attained full status as a Communist?

Mr. MILLER. Well, no. When I had been in the party before, I had been among those who attempted to make our organization as scholarly and as learned as possible. I had been among those who had stressed the importance of reading the classics as well as contemporary documents. So I think it was probably felt that I had sufficient schooling in Marxist theory to not require any additional—not require any probationary period in order to be readmitted.

Mr. ARENS. When did you actually attain status as a Communist again?

Mr. MILLER. I was readmitted in September 1953.

Bill Wood came over to my place and—oh, yes, prior to that he had approached me after a union meeting and said he wanted to see me, and so we arranged—we set up a meeting for him to come over to my place, my residence, and he came over as planned and we took a short

walk and went into a tavern and had a couple of beers. It was then that I was told that I was back in the party.

Mr. ARENS. And what was the assignment you received at that time?

Mr. MILLER. At that time I was—it was arranged for me to meet with Comrade Wood at his home. I would meet with him every week or so on the average, I would say every 2 weeks I would meet in his home. And at that time he and I would have—it would be a cell meeting under the type of security system that prevails at present. It would be considered a Steel Club, a club of the steel section of the party.

Mr. ARENS. And what did you do within the club?

Mr. MILLER. There were—our agenda would be broken down into two parts. One part would be a study, either of some Marxist classic like Foundations of Leninism by Stalin—at that time Comrade Stalin hadn't been desanctified, so his writings were in great vogue then among the party members—or we would read some article, pertinent article and discuss it—I mean it would be assigned and we would discuss some article from Political Affairs. The second part of the agenda would consist in a discussion of conditions in our particular local union. And perhaps right here would be as good a time as any to make the record unequivocally clear as to our local union and communism.

I have complete confidence in the officers and in the overwhelming rank and file of our members as regards the Communist menace. I know that the president of our union, John Ruke, is very antagonistic to communism. And I hope that these investigations will assist our organization in cleaning its own house, and I think that it will.

But getting back to answering your question, we would discuss the activities in the union, and our goal at all times was to attempt to influence other people in the union, attempt within what limits we could to be officials in some capacity in the union, or to work with those, and encourage those whom we thought at some later date might be useful or sympathetic.

Now, I might point out here that my status while I was in the party—my status was beneath that of Comrade Bill Wood. From the standpoint of doing the work of the party in the union or in the community, my position was infinitely superior to his because of the simple fact that he was a known member of the conspiracy and I was not. So that I would be able, due to the fact that my membership in the party was not known, I would be in a position to move up in the union apparatus and get union assignments, and do union jobs that he wouldn't have an opportunity to do. He wouldn't be offered them.

Mr. ARENS. I expect to ask you about that in a moment. I wanted to just trace here the chronology of your cell, your activities in the cell.

Did this particular cell to which you were attached at Bethlehem Steel after you reaffiliated with the Communist Party, change in personnel or did the personnel remain stable?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir; it changed. I remained under Comrade Wood's tutelage until May of 1954. At that time he told me that I would be assigned to a new club, and he told me with whom I would be and the place I was to go.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us, please, sir, where you went and who were in the new club.

Mr. MILLER. It was on a Sunday morning in May—just which Sunday I am not certain—

Mr. ARENS. And what year, please?

Mr. MILLER. That was in 1954. I went to the home of a person whom up until then I didn't realize was a member of the Communist Party. That is, I realized it only when Comrade Wood told me that in the future I would meet with this individual. I had known him as a progressive but I had not known him as a Communist.

Mr. ARENS. Who is he?

Mr. MILLER. Irving Spector.

Mr. ARENS. S-p-e-c-t-o-r? Is that correct?

Mr. MILLER. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. And for how long did you maintain status in that particular unit?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I went over that Sunday to go into a little bit more detail, and that club that I then became affiliated with was set up by Aaron Ostrofsky. He set the thing up, and he said that from now on you two comrades would meet together, and he said that he would try to meet with us from time to time. But he didn't meet with us very often.

Now in answering your immediate question, that club functioned until December 1956, and I might add that not only did it function, but we had an additional member put in it in the spring of 1955.

Mr. ARENS. And who was he, please, sir?

Mr. MILLER. That was Comrade Eddie Goforth.

Mr. ARENS. Would you spell that last name for our record, please?

Mr. MILLER. G-o-f-o-r-t-h.

Mr. ARENS. And what description did this club have within the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. MILLER. Well, it was a steel club. It was composed of members of local 2610 at the Bethlehem Steel Co., and its purpose was to meet to discuss union matters, and to try to compare notes as to our success in becoming an influence in the union. And I might say that—and this is not intended as any reflection against any of the officials in our union because they were oblivious of the fact that they were putting personnel into positions of influence and they didn't know they were Communists when they did it, so they are not to be censured for that in any way. In my opinion, I would say that our club was quite successful in obtaining influence in our local union which—

Mr. ARENS. How?

Mr. MILLER. Well, Comrade Goforth worked in the steam department. He became quite well known there. And in the election that was held, the union election was held last June, he ran—he was a candidate on the anti-Ruke slate. There were three slates. He was candidate on the Klauzenberg slate for the position of guide. And he received a—while he didn't win, he received a very handsome number of votes. He received over a thousand votes, which was quite good.

Mr. ARENS. Did any of the comrades, to your certain knowledge, acquire status as shop stewards?

Mr. MILLER. I believe, as a member of the club, I advised—I was keen as a loyal member of the conspiracy. I was very keen on security. And I pointed out that I didn't think it was feasible for any of us to put ourselves in a position where we were required to take loyalty oaths.

That, I believe, was adhered to very rigidly up until last fall, and my understanding is that there was a feeling in the club at that time that things were relaxing somewhat, what was called the hysteria was waning, and it was felt that one could move into a shop steward position with impunity.

So at that time if I am not mistaken—at least I was so informed by him—Irving Spector became a shop steward.

Mr. ARENS. Is he a shop steward now?

Mr. MILLER. I couldn't say because of the fact I haven't been meeting with him since December.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us during this particular period from May 1954 until December of 1956, within the particular cell that you have been alluding to, what did you do as a comrade under direction of the Communist Party, out at Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. MILLER. Well, what I did, I was instructed to try to get to know the key people in my department in my zone of work. That was one thing I was instructed to do. Get on good terms with them. I wasn't supposed to try to recruit anybody because it was felt that that would be too hazardous a thing.

Mr. ARENS. Did you do any educational work?

Mr. MILLER. I was made the chairman—I was put in charge of the educational work in our club, but I didn't get a chance to accomplish much there because the club was broken up shortly after I was made the educational director of it.

Mr. ARENS. When was that? In December of 1956?

Mr. MILLER. That is when the club was broken up; yes.

Mr. ARENS. Then what happened from the standpoint of your career in the party beginning in December of 1956?

Mr. MILLER. Beginning in December of 1956 I was supposed to have had a meeting with Comrade Spector. He was supposed to have come over to see me, but he didn't show up. I became somewhat apprehensive. I thought that there was a possibility that my role in the party had been somehow discovered and that I was out of the good graces of the conspiracy.

But it turned out that that was not the case. Aaron dropped by, Aaron Ostrofsky dropped by and pointed out to me that Comrade Spector didn't feel that he wanted to continue as the head of the club, of the Steel Club at the present time. Comrade Goforth was not well, and he—and Comrade Spector had some very serious problems that he had to think out in terms of communism. And that he just wanted to be relieved at the present time of the responsibility of being in charge of the club. And that for the time being he would—Comrade Ostrofsky said he would meet with me in my home.

That didn't please me too much. What I attempted to do then was to suggest very strongly that I felt that as a comrade I could make my most effective contribution to the party if I were in a club. And I hoped that some effort would be made to get me put into a club.

I even went so far as to point out that I felt I was fully qualified myself to be in charge of a club, and I would be willing to assume that responsibility if it were placed upon me.

But as of the present moment, no place in a club has been found for me, and I strongly suspect that after today none will.

Mr. ARENS. You have, since December of 1956, been active in this cell with Comrade Ostrofsky; is that correct?

Mr. MILLER. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. What has been the Communist Party line that you alluded to a few moments ago, desanctification of Stalin?

Mr. MILLER. Well, that is a big subject, Mr. Arens.

I could spend a couple of days probably going over the various ramifications of that but I will try to be as brief as possible.

I think it really shook some of the comrades up quite a bit. Because they had more or less placed the late Comrade Stalin on a pedestal. Every utterance from his mouth was in the category of holy writ, and when Comrade Khrushchev made his speech about the late Comrade Stalin, I think it shook some of the comrades up rather badly. I think that is reflected in the fact that there have been some defections from the party, like Howard Fast, who was one of the leading intellectual lights in the party; he has defected. You have had the emergence of the Gates faction in the party, but I think the people in the party who are dedicated Communists, while they were shaken up somewhat by this thing, I think that they have more or less got themselves pulled together, got themselves back on the wagon so to speak, and I think that at the present time my impression is that most of the people who are still in the party are not going to leave it because of the desanctification of Stalin.

Mr. ARENS. Did Comrade Kandel take over on the issue of desanctification of Stalin?

Mr. MILLER. I believe his name has just now entered the discussion. Kandel, I might point out, was introduced to me, Irving Kandel, was introduced to me as the head of the party in the State of Maryland.

Mr. ARENS. How do you spell his last name?

Mr. MILLER. K-a-n-d-e-l.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he located?

Mr. MILLER. His residence, I wouldn't know. I don't know where he lives. He lives in Baltimore some place.

Mr. ARENS. What was the statement, what were the statements he made with reference to the desanctification of Stalin?

Mr. MILLER. Well, Comrade Kandel only met with our club twice. The second time he met with our club he discussed the Khrushchev report. And the general tenor of his remarks were—and he followed the article in a current issue of Political Affairs that dealt with that. He followed the article fairly closely, but the general tenor of his remarks was that it would be a good thing, that he felt that the party would benefit by this criticism, and it would open up new opportunities for the party to strengthen itself, and self-criticism that would result would have a beneficial effect. That was the general tone of his remarks on that.

Mr. ARENS. Did any comrade to your knowledge get out a publication or work on a publication known as **Facts for Steelworkers**?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir. Our club, our Steel Club of the Communist Party—that was one of its assignments: To get out this mimeographed newspaper called Facts for Steelworkers.

There again I might point out that that paper didn't—wasn't gotten out with any particular consistency. There might be a timelag in which no publication of it took place.

Mr. ARENS. Did you or any of the comrades to your certain knowledge participate in the preparation of certain drafts which you anticipated might be used at the National Convention of the Communist Party in New York City?

Mr. MILLER. A letter was sent down from the Trade Union Commission of the party, of the Communist Party, in New York. It worked its way down to our club, our Steel Club, and this letter recommended that the comrades discuss the trade union resolution, and write down any criticisms they had of the draft resolution, and turn them in to our superiors in the party.

I had a copy of that draft resolution given to me by Comrade Spector and went over it carefully, and I wrote a brief critique of the main weaknesses which I thought were in it.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Miller, I display to you now a photostatic reproduction of a document, District Discussion Bulletin On the First Draft, Trade Union Resolution—and ask you to identify that document.

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir; I wrote that.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest this document be marked "Miller Exhibit No. 1" and be incorporated in this record.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection that will be done.

MILLER EXHIBIT No. 1

DISTRICT DISCUSSION BULLETIN

ON THE FIRST DRAFT—TRADE UNION RESOLUTION

In this comrade's view the first draft has many commendable features but it suffers somewhat from the general weaknesses of the general draft resolution, as pointed out by Comrade Foster.

This comrade agrees entirely with Foster's criticism of the draft resolution as representing in many ways Right deviation. The Trade Union Resolution is also right wing in that it overlooks (with the exception of the class struggle) the great basic formulations of Marxism-Leninism and fails to emphasize the necessity of vigorously building an indigenous Communist Party on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism.

The debonair tendency to consider Marx, Engels, Lenin (and yes, Stalin, too, in his finer moments) as passé must be ruthlessly fought, and the need to continually examine their great teachings and their applicability to the American scene must never be overlooked. The ousting of Marx-Lenin from our ideology will not result in a stronger, more indigenous CP, but in the liquidation of our Party altogether.

The Trade Union Resolution seems to this writer to slight the vanguard role that our Party must play in trade union activity. One never wins friends by an overdose of modesty any more than one does by bragging. Of course we should not be interested in "capturing" unions, but our members should be the best and most active unionists precisely because we agree with Lenin's correct understanding of the relationship of Party work to trade union work.

ON BUREAUCRACY

A lot of discussion is taking place in our party regarding the American Road to Socialism, unity with other Socialist forces in America, changing the name of the Party, etc.

To me it seems that one of the most important things that should be discussed and acted upon is the question of bureaucracy. Why Bureaucracy?

1. This is the question most discussed by the rank and file of our Party and yet the least talked and written about in the higher echelons of our Party—worst offender is the National Committee.

2. The comrades who carried out policy in the main had the least or nothing to say about shaping the policy of our party.

3. The listening posts of our party are our comrades who work in the shops, and our comrades in the community and the mass organizations, yet no one listened to them when it came to shaping policy in the past.

I believe it can be said without a doubt that our shop comrades, starting with the Wallace campaign in this district took a beating in their particular unions that to this day hasn't been overcome due to some of our wrong policies. It is to their credit that our shop comrades were some of the first people who fought for the correction of our policies, and methods of work in order to be able to continue to work in the shops and trade unions.

In my opinion, certain basic steps have to be taken in order to set the stage for more free discussion and inviting our people to participate in making policies that *they* will have to carry out.

1. That no one on any level of leadership has a divine right to leadership by virtue of seniority or even great personal sacrifices for our Party. All levels of leadership must be ready and willing to give up their posts whenever the membership so desires without the necessity of waiting for a convention. (We must not overlook the personal sacrifices made by our membership in this district. Our membership has been subjected to jailings, Congressional inquisitions, living away from their families, loss of jobs, continual harassment, to one degree or another and have stood well against this enemy barrage.)

2. That our old concept of democratic centralism must be revised. In reporting what has taken place at one meeting or another, all the benefits of discussion both pro and con that went into the making of a particular decision *must* be made available to the membership so that they too can benefit from previous discussions held. The important thing is *how* was a decision reached, rather than by *whom*.

In looking around, we find that many ex-party members are victims of Party bureaucracy. We cannot set terms or conditions for their return to the Party. In many cases there are apologies due these people, let's make them without qualifications and get them back in.

In our section, I feel (speaking for myself) that since it was reorganized (about five years ago), that nothing was shoved down anyone's throat though many times there were disagreements either in the section or between the district, section, and individuals. Before the carry outs of a policy did so, they made their own decisions independently through discussion.

SHOP WORKER.

ONE WAY TO COMBAT BUREAUCRACY

While the leadership Nationally as well as locally has recognized that bureaucracy existed in our Party, they have not corrected or made an effort to correct their relationship with the comrades who dropped out or were forced to drop out because of a bureaucratic approach towards them. If the leadership is sincere—the first step to be taken should have been to cement relationships with the comrades who have had differences with them. This rift has resulted in the dissolution of clubs and in some instances entire sections. No effort has been made to collect dues, sustaining or moneys for the various drives, from comrades who were part of such clubs or sections.

In some cases comrades have been ignored completely for the past nine or ten months.

When enlarged section meetings were being held throughout the district, these people were not invited to attend such meetings where they could have the opportunity to discuss their grievances and criticisms with comrades outside of the district leadership. It would seem that since meetings between members of the District Committee and members with differences were held and were not fruitful, it would have been most correct for these comrades who are fighting for their position (whether right or wrong) to be given the same opportunities as everyone else instead of being pushed aside and finally forced to give up. Also, there it would have been most correct to have had a representative or delegate at the enlarged District meeting that was held since many of these comrades were involved in important concentration work which was dropped. They should

have been invited, or at least have representation since the fact that they are not functioning as a section or club, is through no fault of their own.

The District is confronted with many problems today, as to the kind of organization we want, what our role is, etc. It seems to us that first we must become a more unified Party by bringing back those comrades who never have given up their principals.

We strongly recommend that a Grievance Committee be set up as quickly as possible so that by the time our Convention is held, these Comrades will once again be an active part of our Party.

SOME RANDOM THOUGHTS OF A SHOP WORKER ON THE STATUS OF THE CPUSA

The main concern of American Communists should be to work for the development of the Party along the lines that will cause it to become a more indigenous political group, attuned to and reflecting the immediate and long range objectives of the American working class.

Now it seems to this writer that if the above statement is true, we ought to curtail the amount of time that has been spent on hashing and re-hashing the dismal "discovery" of Khrushchev that the CP has been afflicted by a "cult of the individual". The American Party had not suffered to any great extent from this malady, so it is rather fruitless for us to pore over this problem as much as we have, or be disturbed by it as so many comrades seem to have been.

There is no doubt that the cult did develop under Stalin's not altogether benign influence, but the kind of excessive, tearful, melodramatic utterances that Khrushchev indulged in are, in this writer's opinion, of dubious value, or at any rate not entirely beneficial. The calm, reasonable tone displayed by the Peiping "Daily People's World" will far better benefit the CP than will Khrushchev's histrionics and so much of the kind of discussion that has been going on for the past few months in the Daily and Sunday Worker. Also, the fact that Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin did not take place until after Stalin had been neatly tucked away causes the doubt to arise that Khrushchev may not have had the courage that one likes to expect of a Bolshevik leader. At least there seems little likelihood that a cult will ever arise about Khrushchev, for which one may take some comfort.

In our Shop Club, a comrade has brought up the fact that the CPUSA is not really a vanguard of the working class, since a majority of comrades are not workers. There is merit in this anxiety over the composition of our Party, but in this problem too it is important to remain calm and not lose our sense of perspective. It has been traditionally true that Parties in most countries have, especially in the period when they were not serious contenders for power, had large proportions of members who were drawn from middle class, intellectual, and racial minority groups. These groups, of course, should be welcome in the Party, but before the Party can expect to achieve power it must become filled with members of the working class and reflect the new and constructive and robust qualities of that class. This is especially true in a country such as this, in which the industrial revolution has achieved such a supreme development. (It was not, of course, true in China since that country was mainly made up of peasants.)

We should give serious thought to methods of making the Party in America more a working-class Party than it now is. Here are a few thoughts on how this may be done:

1. Now that the "heat" is off the Party somewhat, comrades should be encouraged to get jobs in industry. I know that some have been, but this process should be stepped up with an eye especially to basic industries such as steel, coal mining, automobile, rubber, oil, meatpacking, electrical, and so on. In this way comrades who have not been considered workers will henceforth be so considered.

2. We should use what we have more resourcefully. We do have comrades who are in industry. In the past there has been a tendency for the views of the rank and file working class comrades not to carry much weight in the organization. The worker comrades are the closest to the masses and know best what the masses want immediately: the worker comrades alone can keep the Party from becoming isolated from the masses. The views of worker comrades should carry immense weight in the higher echelons of the Party. Let us say, for example, that 35% of the comrades are workers: these comrades' views should carry more influence than 35% because they represent the most important, vigorous, and youthful element in the Party. This is not intended as being boastful, but as

simply a historical fact inherent in the class structure of society. This comrade does not think that workers who are Party members should become full-time Party functionaries: they are needed in the industries. But the present functionaries whose good intentions and loyalty to our Party and the working class are not questioned should lend a more solicitous ear.

3. In order that worker comrades deserve the greater importance in the Party that this paper suggests they must make themselves better Party members. They must become masters of Marxist-Leninist theory. There is no reason why they can't. Part of each meeting should be spent discussing some previously assigned Marxist classic, or portion thereof, (a chapter say, from Anti-Duhring) that has been carefully studied. It would be good for a comrade to prepare an objective-type exam, with true-false, multiple choice, and completion questions to see that the comrades have studied their assignment. It should be considered inexcusable to not have one's assignment except on rare occasions when the exigencies of temporal life make it impossible. In order that the agenda of meetings may be completed it would be helpful if comrades would refrain from departing from the subject at hand and rambling off somewhere else. A better grasp of theory should be accompanied by better relations with fellow workers in the mills. In fact there should be a beneficial interaction between theory and practice. It seems that it would not be amiss to approach a trusted worker now and then with a little of CP teaching. After all, as Lenin points out, we should not depend on spontaneity to solve our problems for us.

4. But at present being active trade unionists is considered the most important immediate objective of the comrades in basic industry. But while doing this we must avoid right opportunism and never forget Comrade Stalin's advice that the function of the Party is to direct the work of such organizations as trade unions (p. 31 "On the Theory of Marxism").

5. We should resume getting out "Facts for Steelworkers". This writer thinks that the policy in respect to this has been too timorous. We had put this paper out on the assumption that we shouldn't tell the union what to do. Of course we should avoid dictatorial mandates, but we should not hesitate to suggest what we think is best. We live in a society where innumerable groups are continually trying to influence each other and make their particular views paramount. It hardly behoves us to be so self effacing as to not follow the general pattern so prevalent in American life today.

In conclusion this writer would point out that while the Party has suffered many defeats in the past decade of repression and Cold War and has made many mistakes, the fact that it has survived is a testimonial to its vitality and to the fact that it has roots in American life and history. We are sometimes discouraged by looking back to the Thirties too nostalgically. We should not forget that even then our Party was a minority group and never achieved the status and prestige that some, such as Whittaker Chambers, attributed to it. We have not fallen so low as some may think * * *

This is our first edition of the District Bulletin. We hope it meets with your approval. We are open to any ideas or criticisms any one may have on how we can improve on it.

We would like to print many more District Bulletins before the Convention. We urge everyone to get their thoughts down on paper so that we can all benefit from each other's thinking.

We ask that articles come in as quickly as possible. No letter will be edited. However, we ask you please to be as concise as possible.

MR. ARENS. Have you in the course of the last year or so learned of the existence of other Communist Party clubs at Bethlehem Steel at Sparrows Point?

MR. MILLER. I believe very strongly that other clubs exist. I have never been told that there are other clubs, but I will say this: I know that there is a steel section. Comrade Ostrofsky told me that he is in charge of the steel section at this time. He indicated he would like to continue to be in charge of it, but he hoped that there could be an election at which he could be elected, or someone else if the comrades preferred someone else.

But I was somewhat critical when I started meeting with Comrade Ostrofsky—I was somewhat critical of the fact that we didn't meet

very often. For a while there we met only once every 3 weeks, and as a loyal zealous member of the conspiracy, I wanted to meet more often. I felt that 3 weeks was too great a lapse, and that I would not be able to retain my militancy if I didn't meet a little more often than that.

As an excuse for not meeting more often with me, he pointed out that as the head of the steel section in Baltimore he had to meet with so many other comrades that it was just very difficult for him to get to see me more often than he did. So that leads me to believe that other clubs do exist.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, in the course of your experience in the last 2 or 3 years in the Communist Party, rechannel your information from one intelligence agency to the officials of the office of the attorney general of the State of Maryland?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you in the course of the last year or so been in intimate, frequent contact with the officials of the office of the attorney general, supplying them information, working with them?

Mr. MILLER. I have been working in the closest possible manner with the State law group since May of 1955.

Mr. ARENS. Now what is the Educator?

Mr. MILLER. The Educator is the newspaper that is published by our local union.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know any person as a Communist who is on the Educator.

Mr. MILLER. Not at the present time. The previous administration of our union did place Comrade Spector on the staff of the Educator, and while there he wrote some articles for that publication for which he received a great deal of commendation not only by the other members of the club but by our superior, Comrade Kandel.

Mr. ARENS. What has been the Communist Party line as announced to the comrades on the events in the recent past in Hungary, and more currently in Poland?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I would say this: That any comrade who was shaken up by the desanctification of Stalin was probably shaken up somewhat by the events in Hungary. But the dedicated Communist who was not shaken up by Stalin's desanctification has accepted the Communist Party line on that. The line of the party that the events in Hungary—in which Red Army troops entered that country—the events there were precipitated by a Fascist uprising in that country that was aided and abetted by America and its agencies.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they believe that? Do they believe that the people who participated in the revolution were participating in some sort of a Fascist uprising?

Mr. MILLER. Yes sir. That would be correct as to the dedicated Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't they know that those students were the ones who were selected because they were, what is the word, trustworthy? The Communists selected certain groups of young people for education who were regarded as trustworthy because they all came from dedicated Communist families, and they were the people who led this uprising. They and the workers who were the Communist Party in Hungary. Do they not know that?

Mr. MILLER. They are aware of that, yes, but they feel that these young people—they feel that these young people were tricked into

this. They felt that there were certain grievances, there were low standards of living, there was too much of the control of the country by the Soviet Union—there were genuine gripes, but they feel that the young people and these other people who were instrumental in the revolution, their activity there of the Hungarian people, were duped into that by these Fascists who were in the pay of the American State Department.

Mr. ARENS. What has been your experience on the percentage of comrades who attend union meetings as compared to the percentage of rank and file of the non-Communist members?

Mr. MILLER. Well, before I answer that question I would like to point out that I think it is an excellent idea for all union members to attend their meetings. I hope that what is disclosed here will encourage many who have been lax in that to start attending. Because only by active participation on the part of the rank and file in our trade unions can this Communist conspiracy be kept out of the unions.

But in answering your question, it is a cardinal duty of the comrades to attend their meetings. If they don't attend them, they get a dressing down for it.

I would say that I can only think of one comrade, or two, that I knew were Communists who didn't seem to attend meetings. Which leads me to think that perhaps they are not members of the conspiracy at the present time. But every one that I know for a certainty are members of the conspiracy now, can always be depended upon to attend their union meetings unless their work schedule prevents it.

Mr. ARENS. What is the relationship between the Communist conspiracy in the United States and the world Communist movement?

Mr. MILLER. The Communist conspiracy in the United States is a part, a part of the international Communist conspiracy.

Mr. ARENS. What did Kandel say, if you recall, with reference to the Khrushchev speech?

Mr. MILLER. Well, Kandel lauded that speech. He felt that the substance of that speech was sound and that we should study it carefully and be guided by it. Now, there are other things which show the relationship there with the international Communist conspiracy. One is the fact that the comrades are so elated, so elated over Communist successes in other countries. I know when the Rangoon conference was being held our club—the members of our Steel Club were quite elated over that. And they regarded Chou En-lai as the great hero, the man who stood out in that conference. They regarded that conference as helping to solidify the support of the neutralist nations and bring it under the orbit of the Soviet and Chinese Communist parties and governments.

And something else, too: When the party members have heard these things about Stalin and things which have happened in the Soviet Union which they have denied all along, haven't admitted even to themselves, and then when Khrushchev admitted them, well, heck, they have to more or less go along with that.

But what happens then? They shift their allegiance to the great rising Communist government, the Chinese Communist Government.

If you will notice, if you will examine the periodicals of the American Communist Party, you will see that they display, very prominently, articles by the Russian—the Chinese leaders of the Com-

munist Party. The Chinese Party is more and more getting the attention and the support and the allegiance of the American Communists.

Mr. ARENS. To your certain knowledge, what does the Communist conspiracy in this area do to have an impact upon the Congress of the United States and upon public opinion on the many issues in which they are interested?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I could think of several. One that strikes me as quite timely is the attitude of the Communist Party toward this committee, this House Un-American Activities Committee.

Mr. ARENS. What is the attitude of the Communist Party toward this committee? We have a pretty good idea ourselves.

Mr. MILLER. I think the public record on that is rather voluminous. I have some personal knowledge of that in addition to the public record.

The attitude of the Communist Party is that this committee is one of their worst antagonists. They like to tell themselves and others that this committee is a circus, that they are publicity hungry or that they are out to crush civil rights. But I thought it was significant that the last meeting I had in the Steel Club of the party, the meeting of April 25, it struck me as extremely significant that the entire course of the conversation for over 2 hours at that meeting concerned this committee.

Now, if this committee is insignificant, if it is composed simply of clowns, publicity seekers, or reactionaries, why is it that the conspiracy is so concerned with its presence here?

Mr. ARENS. What did they say at this last session about the committee and about our coming to Baltimore for this series of hearings?

Mr. MILLER. Well, they said that the purpose in coming here was simply to frighten and harass working people, and to try to cause people to lose their jobs, and just to help to create the hysteria. They pointed out that Comrade Ostrofsky seemed to think that your committee is in dire straits, that there is some danger that it might go out of existence.

He felt that they have to keep things stirred up in order to justify their existence as a committee. That is his line.

Another thing that is brought out is that this committee is out to break or weaken or interfere with unions.

Now, I know that that is not true but it is believed. They have succeeded in convincing a lot of people that that is true. People who are opposed to communism, yet they have been—they have swallowed the Communist line on this committee and they believe that when this committee comes to an area that they are out to weaken or harass trade unions.

Mr. ARENS. Did the word get to you while you were in the conspiracy that the Communist Party has created, in the last several months, front organizations whose avowed objective is to discredit this committee?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I know this: That I was told that I should try to get counsel. I pointed out that I was going to rely on the fifth amendment all the way and I didn't feel like I needed a lawyer. I didn't know any lawyer that I could trust. Furthermore, I had a large family and didn't think that I could afford a lawyer. I was assured by my superior in the conspiracy not to worry about money, that funds were going to be raised. He told me that the American

Civil Liberties Union was going to take a very active part in these hearings. I later found out that he overestimated the role that this group was going to play. But as to the name of such a fund-raising group, I am not in possession of that.

Mr. ARENS. Did the Communist Party in your experience send letters to the editors of the papers on public issues?

Mr. MILLER. I saw a letter in the paper not too long ago that was right down the Communist line.

Now, I wasn't shown any letters. However, it was brought to my attention by Comrade Ostrofsky that a cartoon had appeared in one of our local newspapers, and he went out to his car—this was on April 25—he went out to his car and he brought this paper in to me and he showed me the cartoon which was on the editorial page. And he was quite elated at this cartoon. It was a cartoon that appeared in the Afro-American, which castigated, without any question, without any subtlety, castigated completely and fully the committee.

The idea of it was that this committee is here to inaugurate a wave of Ku Klux Klanism and union busting. That was the gist of what the cartoon suggested.

Mr. ARENS. Does the Communist Party undertake to bring an impact upon the legislative bodies of our Nation by parades and by letters and by other such devices?

Mr. MILLER. Yes. Yes, indeed.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us from your own experience a word about that?

Mr. MILLER. Well, they were effective; they were active in the Mundt-Nixon thing; they have had various civil rights rallies in Washington. One of the most highly dramatized and publicized things, of course, was the Rosenberg clemency appeal.

Mr. ARENS. What is the position of the Communist Party on the Immigration and Nationality Act, known as the Walter-McCarran Act?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I can't testify too much from my experience in the Steel Club because we didn't discuss that. But I do know from reading party publications that they are extremely opposed to that law.

Mr. ARENS. Does the Communist Party undertake to infiltrate non-Communist groups?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us a word of your experience on that?

Mr. MILLER. Well, our union would be the main example. The by-laws of our union are very clear on Communist members. According to our bylaws, we aren't supposed to have them.

But, due to the concealment of membership, it is difficult to disclose who members are.

For instance, I was powerless, I was powerless to inform the officials of my union that Spector was a Communist when he was put on the newspaper, and he has been put on other committees. I was powerless to do anything because of the fact that if I were to state that Spector was a Communist, then that would have meant a confrontation between Spector and myself which would have disclosed prematurely the role I have been playing. But their main area of penetration is in trade unions. And in this Baltimore area that would be in the steel industry. There are two locals, 2609 and 2610.

Mr. ARENS. A little while ago, I believe you expressed yourself with reference to the seriousness of the Communist Party. Could you give us the further facts on that which caused you to reach that conclusion?

Mr. MILLER. Yes. I would like to elaborate a little on that if I may, Mr. Arens. I know it is fashionable among many of the intellectual elite of our Nation to contend that at the present time the Communist Party is on its last legs in this country, that it has lost two-thirds or more of its members, that it is in a weakened condition. And there is an element of truth in that. The party has lost members. The party does find it more difficult to function in an effective manner than it did. All that is true.

But if you remember, if you keep in mind the fact that the Communist Party is a party of an international conspiracy, then the picture looks a little more bleak.

Mr. ARENS. We have, according to Communist Party announcements, an estimated seventeen to eighteen thousand present members of the Communist Party. Those seventeen to eighteen thousand are really foreign agents on American soil, are they not?

Mr. MILLER. That is how it would seem to me; yes.

Now, I can only say this in further comment on that question: Every person that I have ever met in the Communist conspiracy has the potentiality in himself of making a worthwhile contribution to our American society. Again and again you read in the press about their isolation from the main stream of American life. That isolation has been imposed by themselves. If they could see their way clear, any of them, to break away from this conspiracy, they have the talents and the ability to make a worthwhile contribution to the American system of life.

Mr. ARENS. Are there any persons, not members of the Communist Party but under Communist Party discipline, who do the work of the Communist Party?

Mr. MILLER. There are people who will work with Communists. I guess you will find those everywhere. There are people who are not Communists themselves but they will work, they will form a coalition or an alliance with Communists, they will welcome such people into their alinement, they will work with them, they will even give them places of authority knowing that they are Communists. I noticed in the last election our Steel Club was under orders to support one of the slates in the union election. One of the anti-Ruke's slates. Personally I would have liked to have supported John Ruke, but I wasn't in any position to do so because I was under orders to support this other slate.

Now, one of the people in this other slate said to Bill Wood that if this slate wins, if this slate wins we are going to see what we can do about making you a shop steward.

So I give that as an illustration of the fact that there are people who are willing for opportunistic reasons, while they themselves are not a part of the conspiracy—perhaps never have been—yet they are willing to use people who are in the conspiracy to further their own objectives.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information to give us a word about the finances of the Communist Party? Did you pay dues while you were in the party?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any way of knowing what happened to those dues?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I suppose I should apologize to the party, because I am somewhat in arrears on my dues. But as to what happened to them, they were turned over to comrade—the superior in the club. That would have been Comrade Wood at one time, and Comrade Spector, and lately I have been turning them over to Comrade Ostrofsky.

Now, I would think that he must have turned them over to his superior in the apparatus.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Miller, we have, as this record reflects, interrogated you on a number of items. Is there any other item which we may not have touched upon in the course of our interrogation here that you would like to bring to the attention of this committee?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I have already alluded to the fact that our trade union, the overwhelming majority of its members and its officials, are opposed to communism. I would like to say that my position in the party, due to the security measures that the party has instituted, has been such that I have not been in a position—I have not been able to know who all the people are that are in my union who are Communists. I feel convinced that there are other clubs. I just wish that someone who is in the party, that is, in the conspiracy in Baltimore would defect who is in a position to disclose this information. But I suppose that that is a futile wish because I know that when Chambers made his disclosures he made the same plea, and it was not heeded by anyone. So I am sure that my voice, which is far less eloquent than his, will also go unheeded.

Mr. ARENS. Just a last question, if you please, Mr. Miller: Could you tell us just a word from the standpoint of personal interest of your own family life? You are a married man?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You have children?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Would you tell us how many?

Mr. MILLER. Five.

Mr. ARENS. Five children.

Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness. I respectfully suggest that he be continued under his subpoena.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Let that course be pursued.

May I thank you, Mr. Miller, on behalf of this committee, which is performing a very disagreeable task. Incidentally, when you said what you did about our being engaged in breaking labor organizations, it might be interesting to note that I wrote the Government contracts law which is a forerunner of the Wage-Hour Act. My distinguished colleague and I just hastily went over the record of the members of this committee, and we do not know of anyone on the committee who ever cast an antilabor vote. So, whatever was said about our objectives, of course, is out of the whole cloth. All of which causes us no concern.

But I want to say to you that you have made a great contribution to the preservation of this great Republic. It took courage to do

what you did this morning, and I think that the entire country owes you a debt of gratitude. It is difficult to estimate the value of your testimony, but if it brings to the naive and the gullible some idea of how they are imposed upon, then you will have rendered a tremendous service. You are excused and you are continued under this subpoena.

The committee will stand in recess until 1:30 this afternoon.

(Committee members present: Representatives Walter and McIntosh.)

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p. m., Tuesday, May 7, 1957, the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 1:30 p. m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—TUESDAY, MAY 7, 1957

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will be in order.

Call your next witness, Mr. Arens.

(Committee members present: Representatives Walter and McIntosh.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Aaron Ostrofsky, kindly come forward.

(No response.)

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly call his name, Mr. Marshal, Mr. Aaron Ostrofsky. He may be in the corridor.

Mr. BUCHMAN. Where is the witness stand?

Mr. ARENS. Right next to the reporter, please, counsel.

Mr. BUCHMAN. I want to ask, Mr. Chairman, that the television cameras be removed before my client takes the stand.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. BUCHMAN. Are the television cameras off?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; apparently.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Ostrofsky, will you kindly remain standing while an oath is administered to you?

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I do, sir.

TESTIMONY OF AARON OSTROFSKY, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HAROLD BUCHMAN

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Aaron Ostrofsky. My name is Aaron Ostrofsky. I reside at 2312 Oswego Avenue, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation, please?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. My occupation is welder.

Mr. ARENS. Where, please, sir?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. What's this?

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Down at Bethlehem Steel Co.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing here today, Mr. Ostrofsky, in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you kindly identify yourself.

Mr. BUCHMAN. Harold Buchman, B-u-c-h-m-a-n, 205 Tower Building, Baltimore 2, Md.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I was born in Rumania in 1919, December 6.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States for permanent residence?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. When I was about 11 months old.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I am, sir.

Mr. ARENS. By derivation or by naturalization?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. By derivation.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, sir, a brief sketch of your formal education.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I went to the public schools, junior high school and high school, and 2 years of evening college.

Mr. ARENS. When did you complete your formal education?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I wouldn't remember the exact date. But approximately it would be about 1938, I imagine.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you complete your formal education?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. Would you give us, if you please, your principal employments since completion of your formal education at Brooklyn College in 1938, I believe you said?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I believe it was.

Well, I worked in the men's hat line for a while at odd jobs. And then about 1940, I believe it was, I was unemployed for a while, and then I came to Baltimore for a job and I started to work in the shipyards.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to Baltimore?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. That would be approximately 1941.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you obtain your first employment after you came to Baltimore in 1941?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I believe it was at the Maryland Dry Dock Shipyard.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. As a welder I worked there.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you work there, please, sir?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. A short period. I guess about 3 months or so; 4 months maybe.

Mr. ARENS. What was your next employment?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I worked at Bethlehem Fairchild Shipyard at Bethlehem Steel Co.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you work there and in what capacity?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I worked there from 1941—as a welder, sir—from 1941, then to 1944. I went in the service at that time, and I was in the United States Army, and then I was discharged. I believe it was November of 1945.

Mr. ARENS. Please give us just a word about your career in the Army. Where did you serve and in what branch of the service?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I served in the infantry, that is the Army, the infantry part of the Army, and I served in France and Germany. And

I received the purple heart and the combat infantry badge and two battle stars.

Mr. ARENS. Did you receive a commission in the Army?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. No, I didn't, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were you discharged in 1945?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Yes, sir; Pfc.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly tell us what was your first principal employment after your discharge from the Army.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I came back to work in the Bethlehem Fairchild Shipyard in 1946, I believe it was.

Mr. ARENS. And in what capacity?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. As a welder, sir.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you maintain that employment?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Until the place closed down, which I believe was about November 1946.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be convenient for you to keep your voice up a little as we are having difficulty in hearing you.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Can I move this?

Mr. ARENS. Surely. Accommodate yourself there, if you please, sir.

Am I clear in my impression from your testimony a moment ago that you worked in that employment until 1946 after you were discharged from the Army?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I worked—I started back in 1946 and worked clean up until November of 1946. That is when the yard closed. In other words, the yard itself was still there, but I mean it closed as the Bethlehem Fairchild Shipyard.

Mr. ARENS. I understand. Tell us, please, of your next employment.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. After that I think I had a lapse of 38 days between there and the Bethlehem Steel Co. at Sparrows Point.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity did you assume employment there?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. As a welder, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been continuously employed there ever since?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. That is right, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you held a position in a labor organization while you have been employed at the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Well, I feel that any answer I would give to that would be testimony against myself.

Mr. ARENS. Perhaps you didn't understand the question.

Have you been identified with a labor organization while you have been employed at the Bethlehem Steel Corp. beginning in late 1946?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I started to answer it. I feel that any answer I would give to that could be used as testimony against myself, and I feel that under the provisions of the Constitution that no man shall be compelled to testify against himself.

Mr. ARENS. Let me ask you this, please, sir: Do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee truthfully while you are under oath whether or not you have been active in, or a member of, a labor organization, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Well, I think I gave you my answer, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest now on this record this witness be ordered and directed to answer the last outstanding principal question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. What crime do you think you might be charged with if you admitted that you were a member of, or an officer of, a labor organization?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Well, sir, I said that it might. And, therefore, I am standing on that answer, sir, that I feel that this thing might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Can I get the question clarified that you are presenting now that you want me to answer?

The CHAIRMAN. Read the question.

(The reporter read from his notes as requested.)

Mr. OSTROFSKY. That is the question that I answered, sir. That I feel I am not compelled—

The CHAIRMAN. Then as I understand you, you decline to answer the question, invoking the fifth amendment?

Mr. BUCHMAN. May I consult with my client?

The CHAIRMAN. Surely.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Well, to that question that you asked me, you said that that question—you are asking me would it tend to in any way incriminate me. Is that what you said, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. No. I said did you decline to answer the question on the grounds that the answer might incriminate you, and you are, therefore, invoking the fifth amendment.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Are you saying then—let me get this straight, then. Would a truthful answer to that question tend to incriminate me?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I said that it might tend to incriminate me, sir. Under the provisions of the Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. And you, therefore, refuse to answer the question?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. On what ground?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. On the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Ostrofsky, this morning Clifford Miller took an oath before this committee, laid his liberty on the line, and testified while he was under oath that as a member of the Communist Party he knew you as a Communist. I want to give you an opportunity while you are under oath to deny it. Was Mr. Miller lying or was he telling the truth when he identified you as a Communist?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Well, I will have to refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not under any compulsion. You said "I will have to refuse to answer." You are not under any compulsion. Do you refuse to answer?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I say I decline to answer that question because I feel just like I did.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Miller, would you stand in the court room, please.

Mr. Ostrofsky, would you kindly accommodate us by looking to your left at this man who said he knew you as a Communist. Do you know Clifford Miller, the man standing there who is facing you, looking you in the face?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds, that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Who is George Meyers? Could you help us on that?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Jeanette Fino, F-i-n-o? Could you help us on that, sir?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. We would like to have you help this committee trying to develop facts, as we are, to protect the security of this Nation under whose flag you have protection. Tell us if you know anything about the Freedom of the Press Committee. Is there such an organization in Baltimore?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Let's get one thing clear, if you please, sir. Do you honestly feel, Mr. Ostrofsky, that if you told this committee truthfully what you know about the Freedom of the Press Committee, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that he be ordered and directed to answer the last outstanding principal question which goes to the good faith of this witness in invoking the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I didn't hear what you said, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer that question.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Would you repeat that again, please, sir?

Mr. ARENS. The question is simply this, in its simplest form: Do you now, while you are under oath, fear that if you told this committee truthfully what you know about the Freedom of the Press Committee here in Baltimore, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I said that it might tend to incriminate me, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Levy Williamson?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Bill Wood?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. The same ground, sir; I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Eddie Goforth?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Same grounds, sir; I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. AREN. Irving Spector.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. The same ground, sir; I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Benjamin Fino?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. The same grounds, sir; I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently have information affecting the security of the United States—

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I don't quite understand that question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Could you—

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently have information about a conspiratorial operation designed to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Not to my knowledge, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting the Communist conspiracy in this community?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. In connection with what, sir? I don't quite understand that question.

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently have information respecting the Communist conspiracy in this community?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Could I consult with my attorney, sir?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I will have to refuse to answer that question, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

The witness is excused and you may sign your voucher.
Call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Irving Spector, kindly come forward.

Mr. BUCHMAN. The same request, no television.

Are the cameras off, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. I understand so.

Mr. ARENS. Please remain standing, Mr. Spector, while the chairman administers an oath to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand? Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SPECTOR. I do.

Mr. BUCHMAN. Mr. Chairman, I think that camera there is on.

The CHAIRMAN. You know the rules. I am sure you will comply with them.

TESTIMONY OF IRVING SPECTOR, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HAROLD BUCHMAN

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. SPECTOR. My name is Irving Spector. I live at 4005 Fernhill Avenue, in Baltimore. I work at the Bethlehem Steel Co.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today, Mr. Spector, in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. SPECTOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon?

Mr. SPECTOR. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. SPECTOR. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. BUCHMAN. Harold Buchman, 205 Tower Building, Baltimore 2, Md.

Mr. ARENS. When and where were you born, Mr. Spector?

Mr. SPECTOR. Born in Massachusetts in 1915.

Mr. ARENS. I wonder if it would be convenient for you to raise your voice a little.

Mr. SPECTOR. I was born in Massachusetts in 1915.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word, please, sir, about your formal education.

Mr. SPECTOR. I went to public school and to a city college, that is not the name of it, you know, a college that is run by the city of Chicago, in Chicago, for about a year and a half.

Mr. ARENS. Did that complete your formal education?

Mr. SPECTOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Then give us, if you please, sir, just the principal employments which you had after you completed your formal education.

Mr. SPECTOR. The major ones were—

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SPECTOR. The major ones were employment by the United States Government for a period, and then various sales jobs.

Mr. ARENS. Hesitate there, if you please, sir.

Mr. SPECTOR. Surely.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment with the United States Government? Give us a brief summary of that.

Mr. SPECTOR. From approximately the end of 1936 until, I believe it was around the middle of 1946.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you employed by the United States Government?

Mr. SPECTOR. I was employed first by the Social Security Board and then by the War Department.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you employed by the Social Security Board?

Mr. SPECTOR. In Baltimore, Md.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity?

Mr. SPECTOR. Clerk of some sort. I don't recall.

Mr. ARENS. For how long? Approximately. Just your best recollection, please.

Mr. SPECTOR. Five or six years. Somewhere in there.

Mr. ARENS. Then where were you employed by the War Department?

Mr. SPECTOR. In Aberdeen Proving Ground.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be convenient for you to raise your voice? We have a little disturbance here.

Mr. SPECTOR. Would it be convenient for the disturbance to subside?

Mr. ARENS. Kindly tell us——

Mr. SPECTOR. Aberdeen Proving Ground.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity were you employed in Aberdeen?

Mr. SPECTOR. Assistant engineering aide, I believe, or computer, or something along those lines.

Mr. ARENS. During what period of time were you employed there?

Mr. SPECTOR. From approximately 1941—this is, you know, give or take a year—until 1940—the middle of 1946 or thereabouts, excluding a year in the service.

Mr. ARENS. When were you in the service?

Mr. SPECTOR. From 1945 to 1946.

Mr. ARENS. What precipitated your disassociation from the employment at Aberdeen Proving Ground?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SPECTOR. I refuse to answer that question under the fifth amendment, which gives me the privilege of not testifying against myself.

Mr. ARENS. You were dismissed for security reasons, were you not, Mr. Spector?

Mr. SPECTOR. The same answer as previously.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately after your disassociation from the Aberdeen Proving Ground employment?

Mr. SPECTOR. There were a number of very short periods of employment in different places, and it would be difficult to place them.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us——

Mr. SPECTOR. The first major one——

Mr. ARENS. A few of them?

Mr. SPECTOR. A few?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPECTOR. I believe I worked for a shirt company as bookkeeper for a few months. And for a radio parts sales outfit as a salesman for a short period. And then I worked for a hat company as a salesman for a period.

Mr. ARENS. Then when was your next principal employment and where?

Mr. SPECTOR. My next principal employment was at Bethlehem Steel Co.

Mr. ARENS. That began when, please, sir?

Mr. SPECTOR. Four years ago.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been continuously employed ever since?

Mr. SPECTOR. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you belong to the labor organization that is operating there at Bethlehem?

Mr. SPECTOR. I don't follow you.

Mr. ARENS. Do you belong to local 2610?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SPECTOR. I will have to take the same privilege I did previously.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer that last outstanding principal question.

Mr. SPECTOR. I took the privilege of the fifth amendment on that, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What criminal prosecution do you think you would be confronted with if you would admit that you were a mem-

ber of a local of the SWOC, a very reputable labor organization?
(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SPECTOR. I will have to take the privilege of the fifth amendment in the answer.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to display to you now, please, sir, an exhibit. It is called the Educator of local 2610, United States of America, AFL-CIO of June 1956. On page 11 of this publication, appears a picture of I. Spector, S-p-e-c-t-o-r, who is identified in this publication as a shop steward.

Kindly look at that publication and tell this committee, or be good enough to identify the photograph as that of your own.

(The witness conferred with his counsel, and examined document.)

Mr. SPECTOR. It looks like a picture of me, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Could you help us a little further? Is the identification accurate under the photograph of you as a shop steward there?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SPECTOR. I will take the privilege of the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a shop steward?

Mr. SPECTOR. Same answer; the privilege of the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. What crime do you think you could be charged with if you admitted you were a shop steward?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. What crime is that?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SPECTOR. I will have to take the fifth amendment on that.

The CHAIRMAN. No, you don't have to.

Mr. SPECTOR. Well, I take the privilege of the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean by that that you invoke the privilege of the fifth amendment?

Mr. SPECTOR. I invoke the fifth-amendment privilege.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest this document which I have been showing to the witness be appropriately marked and incorporated by reference in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be so incorporated.

(Document marked "Spector Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I would like to direct your attention to a photostatic reproduction of a Declaration of Appointee, bearing the signature of Irving Spector, in which the applicant is making application for employment at the Aberdeen (Md.) Proving Ground. And in this declaration, immediately preceding the signature, is a question:

Are you a member of any Communist or German Bund organization or any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States, or do you have membership in or any affiliation with any group, association, or organization which advocates, or lends support to any organization or movement advocating, the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States?

And there is a blank space for a "Yes" or "No" answer. And "No" is filled in.

Then immediately after that is the following:

If so, name the organization and give complete details on sheet to be attached hereto.

If you please, sir, while you are under oath kindly look at this document with particular reference to the signature and tell this committee whether or not that is a true and correct reproduction of a document signed by you on the date specified.

(The witness conferred with his counsel and examined document.)

Mr. SPECTOR. I will take the privilege of the fifth amendment on that, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Is that your your signature on this document?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SPECTOR. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Did you write "No" on this document, the copy of which I have in my hand?

Mr. SPECTOR. Same answer, sir.

(Document marked "Spector Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you signed this document soliciting employment at the Aberdeen Proving Ground?

Mr. SPECTOR. Same answer as previously.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Spector, as a witness you shall be entitled, at the conclusion of your testimony, to a witness fee. So that there will be no possible suggestion of entrapment here, I want to ask you if you will now, while you are under oath, sign the voucher so that there may be a comparison of your signature with the signature on the document which I now hold in my hand. If so, I invite you now to sign the document.

Mr. BUCHMAN. Has his testimony been concluded?

Mr. ARENS. No, it has not. I am asking him now if he would accommodate the Committee on Un-American Activities by signing his pay voucher now.

Mr. BUCHMAN. We prefer to sign at conclusion of the testimony.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, would you kindly answer the question?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SPECTOR. I will be willing to sign that at the conclusion of the testimony.

Mr. ARENS. When you applied for your employment at Bethlehem Steel Corp., did you tell Bethlehem Steel about your previous employment at the Aberdeen Proving Ground?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SPECTOR. To the best of my recollection, I wasn't asked about it, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to display to you now, please, sir, a photostatic reproduction of the application for employment at Bethlehem Steel Corp., bearing your signature, on the reverse side of which the applicant is requested to list previous employments.

Kindly look at that document and tell us, first of all, whether or not that is a true and correct copy of the original document, bearing your signature, when you applied for employment at the Bethlehem Steel Corp.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SPECTOR. I will refuse—oh, I will have to refuse to answer that on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Do you see anywhere on that document, Mr. Spector, any allusion or reference to previous employment by the applicant with the Aberdeen Proving Ground?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SPECTOR. No, it is not there, apparently.

Mr. ARENS. Did you at the time make known to the people at Bethlehem the fact of your previous employment at Aberdeen Proving Ground?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SPECTOR. I will take the privilege under the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel that if you told this committee truthfully whether or not you notified the Bethlehem Steel Corp. of your previous employment at Aberdeen Proving Ground, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SPECTOR. It might.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the document which I have displayed to him, the application for employment at the Bethlehem Steel Corp., be incorporated in this record.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be incorporated.

2177-50m-12.52-BSCo

DATE JUL 1 1953

PLANT, WORKS, YARD OR DIVISION

APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

Do not write in this space

Name: <u>✓</u> (Print) SPECTOR IRVING		Please fill out carefully First Middle		Mass.	
Social Security No. <u>✓</u> 19-18-8705		Phone FOREST 7-0787		Age 37	
Birth Date May 31 1915		Mo.-Day-Year		Speak Read Write } English	
Address 400 FERNHILL AV		Work home before No		Citizen Yes	
In Case of Emergency Notify RHEA SPECTOR		Relationship Wife		Single-Married Widowed-Separated Widower-Divorced	
Address 400 FERNHILL AV		Dependents Wife or Husband WIFE		Children Under 18 ✓	
Last School Attended Grades Completed: Courses Your Last Employer AUTOMOTIVE ELECTRIC AND PARTS CO		Year Grad. 1940 Degree Your Last Position		Children Over 18 -	
Address 710 N STRICKER ST.		Length of Time 8 mo		Others -	
Height 5'10" Weight 175 Eyes Color HAZEL Hair Color BLACK National Military Service by		Physical Defects None Wear Glasses No			
Induction <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Enlistment <input type="checkbox"/> Activation from Reserve Status <input type="checkbox"/>		Date 1945		Grade or Rank Sergeant	
Left Military Service: Type of Discharge: <u>HONORABLE</u>		Date 1946		Grade or Rank CPT 3C	
Member of Reserve Organization Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		Status: Active <input type="checkbox"/> Inactive <input type="checkbox"/>		Grade or Rank Branch of Service	
Applicant's present Selective Service classification 1C DISC		Date classification expires			

Relatives in Company Employ

[illegible]

References:—Not previous employers—Not relatives.


Name	Address	Occupation
MR. R. R. R. GOLDSTONE	408 W. LUTHER	OFFICE FURNITURE
MR. MYRON PRICE	TEMPLE GROVE APT.	POSTAL
MR. I. GUNTER	576 N. EUTAW	WOMAN'S APPAREL

MOST RECENT EMPLOYERS

Name of Firm or Company	City	State	Length of Service	Date Left	Position	Rate	Reason for Leaving
M. KALISH	BALTIMORE		8 MO.	Nov 55	Home Repairs	8 ⁰⁰	BUSINESS FOLLOWS
H. GINGERS HEADWEAR	"		4 YRS	Apr 55	SALES	1 ⁰⁰	TO GO WITH ABOVE
H. G. BERMAN Co. - ELECTRONICS	"		1 YR	Oct 48	GENERAL	60 ⁰⁰	"
V.S. NAY			1 YR	May 46	ETIM		"

Education		Name of School	City	State	Course
Grade	High School	KEVIN O'KEAR	CHICAGO	ILL	GENERAL
	Business College	AUSTIN	"	"	"
	Extension				
	Correspondence				
	College or University	JR. CIVIL ENG	"	"	1 YR.
Grade Completed					
	Completed				

Character of Trade or Work		Outstanding	Planning	Physical
Personality		Unattractive		
"		Neat	Plucky	Upright
Appearance		Respectful	Beautiful	Aggressive
Manner		Reserved		
"		Quick	Average	Slow
Disposition		Plucky	Healthy	Event
Build		Muscular	Boldly	Shopped
Medium		Why	Enthusiastic	Neat
Large		Nervous	Public	Shyly
Fit		Quick	Ready	Slow
Thin				

Choice of Trade or Work	
Yes	No
ELECTRICAL	
Have you previously applied here? No When?	
Do you own or rent the house in which you live or do you rent? RENT APT. Owned	
Living with wife? YES	
I affirm that my answers to the questions in this application are true and correct and that I have not been previously employed by any person or organization who was or is a member of the Communist Party.	
 William Specter Secretary of Education	

Mr. ARENS. While you were at Aberdeen Proving Ground, were you under the discipline and control of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPECTOR. I will invoke the fifth amendment as previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Are you presently a subscriber to Masses and Mainstream?

Mr. SPECTOR. Same answer as previously.

Mr. ARENS. What is your present address?

Mr. SPECTOR. 4005 Fernhill.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Spector, this morning Clifford Miller took an oath before this committee and testified that, as a member of the Com-

munist Party, he knew you as a Communist. We want to give you an opportunity now, while you are under oath, to deny it.

Mr. SPECTOR. I will invoke the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Miller, would you kindly stand there?

Will you please accommodate us, Mr. Spector, by looking over your left shoulder? You will see Mr. Miller there. Do you know that man who is standing there?

Mr. SPECTOR. I will invoke the fifth amendment, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the nature of your present employment?

Mr. SPECTOR. I do maintenance work.

The CHAIRMAN. Maintenance of what?

Mr. SPECTOR. Electrical maintenance. I work on parts of cranes.

Mr. McINTOSH. What was the nature of your assignment at Aberdeen Proving Ground during the war?

Mr. SPECTOR. I previously stated that I was employed there as a computer or assistant engineer, to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. McINTOSH. What projects specifically, if you recall, did you work on during that period?

Mr. SPECTOR. I couldn't recall. It had something to do with—

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SPECTOR. To the best of my memory, I did certain computations for ballistics data that was needed for range—for firing programs that went on down there.

Mr. McINTOSH. What was your assignment during the period you were in service?

Mr. SPECTOR. I was in the Navy. I was in the ETM, electronics technician mate, I was being trained for.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you stationed?

Mr. SPECTOR. I was in various schools during the period. In Michigan—no, Indiana, Illinois, Gulfport.

Mr. McINTOSH. Did you have any field duty of any sort.?

Mr. SPECTOR. I can't hear you.

Mr. McINTOSH. Were you ever assigned to operational units?

Mr. SPECTOR. No, the war ended while I was still in the school. I was discharged while still in school.

Mr. McINTOSH. Thank you.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Spector, I would like to display to you now a clipping from the Washington Evening Star of July 26, 1946, with reference to the discharge of a number of people from the Aberdeen Proving Ground by the War Department on the ground that they were members of the Communist Party. According to this article, these people categorically denied in sworn statements that they have ever been, or now are, members of the Communist Party.

I lay this before you purely for the purpose of refreshing your recollection, and ask you if you have a recollection of issuing a statement on that date indicated in the article in the Evening Star, that you were not then, and never had been, a member of the Communist Party.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you issue such a statement on the date indicated in the article?

Mr. SPECTOR. I invoke the privilege of the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Spector Exhibit No. 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. You weren't before a congressional committee or subjected to an oath at that time, were you, Mr. Spector?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a Communist?

Mr. SPECTOR. I will invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Abe Kotelchuck, K-o-t-e-l-c-h-u-c-k?

Mr. SPECTOR. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Was there any one who was disassociated from the Aberdeen Proving Ground at the same time you were disassociated from the Aberdeen Proving Ground?

Mr. SPECTOR. I invoke the same privilege.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Kotelchuck himself was fired the same time you were on security grounds, is that true?

Mr. SPECTOR. I invoke the same privilege.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Phil Weiss, W-e-i-s-s?

Mr. SPECTOR. I invoke the same privilege.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of R. J. Mendel-sehn, M-e-n-d-e-l-s-e-h-n?

Mr. SPECTOR. I invoke the same privilege.

Mr. ARENS. We would like to have you help us now, if you please, Mr. Spector. We are trying to develop information to protect the security of this Nation. Do you know of an organization called a Committee for the Benefit of Screened Seamen?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SPECTOR. I invoke the same privilege.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel that if you told this committee while you are under oath, what information you have in your possession respecting a Committee for the Benefit of Screened Seamen, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. SPECTOR. It might.

Mr. ARENS. Are you acquainted with Jeanette Fino?

Mr. SPECTOR. I invoke the same privilege.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Eddie Goforth?

Mr. SPECTOR. I invoke the same privilege.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of an organization dedicated to the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SPECTOR. Not as far as I know.

Mr. ARENS. And when did you acquire that knowledge?

Mr. SPECTOR. I don't understand your question.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of an organization that is directed, dominated, and controlled by a foreign power?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SPECTOR. Not as far as I know, not to my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPECTOR. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Mr. McINTOSH. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused, and I suppose you will now be willing to affix your signature to a voucher. Call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be William Wood.

Please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Wood. I do.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM H. WOOD, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ALAN H. MURRELL

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. Wood. William H. Wood, 7219 Martell Avenue, Baltimore, Md. I am a steelworker.

Mr. ARENS. And where are you employed, Mr. Wood?

Mr. Wood. I am employed at Bethlehem Steel.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. MURRELL. Just a moment, my client has requested that his appearance here not be televised.

Mr. ARENS. Very well.

You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. Wood. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. Wood. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you kindly identify yourself.

Mr. MURRELL. My name is Alan H. Murrell, M-u-r-r-e-l-l. I am a member of the Baltimore Bar.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born, please, sir?

Mr. Wood. I was born in Boise, Idaho, June 30, 1918.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, just a word about your formal education.

Mr. Wood. I had roughly 2 years, 2½ years college and received an associate of arts at Boise Junior College, and of course high school and grade school before that.

Mr. ARENS. And then a thumbnail sketch, please, of your principal employments since you have completed your formal education.

Mr. Wood. Prior to becoming a steelworker, my many employment was hard-times itinerant. A month here, two months there, and so forth. The only steady job I ever had is my present employment with Bethlehem Steel Co., which dates from January, I believe, 1942. Not the exact date, I would have to refresh my memory to know.

Mr. ARENS. You have been continuously employed since?

Mr. Wood. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And have you been continuously employed in the same type of work?

Mr. WOOD. No. I mean I—I would not say so.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, sir, the various types of work in which you have been engaged.

Mr. WOOD. I have been a, first, what they called a stoker, I believe, a long time ago. Then a mechanical—then after my military service which broke into this—mechanical helper, and a crane operator and sometimes an extra repairman on a temporary basis.

Mr. ARENS. During what period of time were you in military service?

Mr. WOOD. During the war, from June 1942 to December 1945.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party during your military service?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you serve in the military service?

Mr. WOOD. In the United States and in the European theater of operations.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity? I don't quite understand. In the infantry?

Mr. WOOD. I was an infantryman. I had about 10 months at the front in Western Europe, was wounded, and also decorated.

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently hold any Reserve commission?

Mr. WOOD. I do not.

Mr. ARENS. Have you held a Reserve commission since your disassociation from the military service, active service?

Mr. WOOD. I have.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time did you hold a military Reserve commission?

Mr. WOOD. My—over a period of roughly 7 years, I believe. This is not—I would not want to be held to this. I mean without reference to dates on the thing.

Mr. ARENS. Do you belong to a labor organization?

Mr. WOOD. I do.

Mr. ARENS. What is the name of the labor organization?

Mr. WOOD. I belong to the United Steelworkers of America, local 2610.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever held a post or office in the labor organization, United Steelworkers?

Mr. WOOD. I was once a shop steward.

Mr. ARENS. When was that, please, sir?

Mr. WOOD. Around 8, 10 years ago. I don't know the exact date.

Mr. ARENS. You do not presently hold such a post?

Mr. WOOD. I do not.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Mary Markward?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Mary Markward testified before this committee that she knew you as a Communist. Was she lying or was she telling the truth?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Wood, this morning Mr. Clifford Miller took an oath before this committee and said that he was a member of the

Communist Party, working under cover to serve his Government, and that, while he has been a member of the Communist Party, he has known you as a Communist. We want to give you an opportunity now, while you are under oath, to deny it. Would you care to do so?

Mr. WOOD. I do not.

Mr. ARENS. Was Mr. Miller lying or was he telling the truth when he identified you as a person known by him to a certainty to be a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Clifford Miller?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. We would like to display to you now a photostatic reproduction of an article appearing in the Daily Worker of New York, Monday, November 1, 1948. The article is entitled "The Heroes of Yesterday Speak Up Today," attacking those who are engaged in the type of work in which we are presently engaged here. And calling upon the President of the United States, the then President of the United States, to cause the indictments against the 12 Communist leaders to be dismissed.

This is signed by a number of persons who identified themselves as a veterans' group, and calls for preparation for a "National Conference of Veteran Groups." Among those whose names appear here, is the name of William H. Wood, of Baltimore, Md. Would you kindly look at that exhibit while I display it to you and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you lent your name consciously to that enterprise?

(The witness examined the document.)

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this document be marked as an exhibit and be incorporated in the record by reference.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be marked and so incorporated.

(Document marked "Wood Exhibit No. 1." and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Wood, I display to you a document which has already been identified in this record this morning. The heading of this document is "District Discussion Bulletin, On the First Draft—Trade Union Resolution." Kindly look at this document, if you please, sir, and tell this committee whether or not you have ever seen that document before or the original, of which that is a photostat.

(The witness examined the document.)

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

(Document previously designated "Miller Exhibit No. 1," retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact that you participated in the preparation of this document at the behest of, and for the purpose of facilitating the work of, the Communist Party.

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know the man who preceded you to the witness stand?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know the man who preceded him to the witness stand, Aaron Ostrofsky?

Mr. WOOD. I likewise refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Wood, this committee is trying to develop factual information which the committee can use in the furtherance of its overall duties to develop legislation and for other purposes to protect the security of this country, principally against the Communist conspiracy. Do you presently have information respecting the operation of the Communist Party in the Baltimore area?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Just so the record is clear—I am not too vivid—are you at this moment a Communist?

Mr. WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Mr. McINTOSH. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused from further hearing under the subpoena and may collect his witness fee.

We will take a short recess.

(Brief recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness, Mr. Arens.

(Committee members present: Representatives Walter and McIntosh.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Levy Williamson. I am not certain of the pronunciation. Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I make a request that I not be televised.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you raise your voice. I cannot hear you.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I would like to request not to be televised or my testimony carried over any public-address system.

Mr. ARENS. Very well. Please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF LEVY WILLIAMSON, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, CHARLES P. HOWARD, JR., AND LLEWELLYN W. WOOLFORD

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. My name is Levy Williamson. I live at 2729 Mura Street. Occupation, steelworker, Bethlehem Steel, Sparrows Point.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing here today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I am.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you each kindly identify yourself.

Mr. HOWARD. Yes. I am attorney Charles P. Howard, Jr., member of the Monumental Bar Association.

Mr. WOOLFORD. I am Llewellyn W. Woolford, member of the Monumental Bar Association.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I was born in South Carolina, June 5, 1915.

Mr. ARENS. And just a word about your education.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I went to school and was promoted to the sixth grade, which I never did enter back on. I only finished fifth-grade education.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed at Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. To my correct recollection, I think it is about 18 years, the 4th of October coming.

Mr. ARENS. What jobs have you held during these last 18 years?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. One.

Mr. ARENS. And what is that specifically?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. A ladle liner.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a member of the Steelworkers local at Bethlehem Steel, Sparrows Point?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I claim the privilege of the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question whether or not you are a member of a labor union.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I claim the protection of the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you honestly feel that if you answered that question you would be subjected to a criminal prosecution?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I also claim the protection of the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. What crime do you think you would be guilty of if you admitted you belonged to a labor union?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that anything I say might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Jesse Reed? Who was he?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I claim the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You were chairman of the Jesse Reed Committee, were you not, some few years ago?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I still claim the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be convenient for you to keep your voice up a little, please?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I will try.

Mr. ARENS. What groups do you belong to besides, or in addition to, the labor organization? Any groups, clubs, or organizations of any kind?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you belong to any groups that you can tell us about without disclosing information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I will claim the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Dundalk Turner? Can you help us on that?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse on the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You were a member of the Dundalk Turner Club of the Communist Party for some years, were you not?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I claim the privilege of the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Clifford Miller?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I also claim the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly keep your voice up a little?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I said I also claim the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Clifford Miller this morning identified you as a Communist. He did so while he was under oath. We would like to give you an opportunity now to deny it while you are under oath. Would you care to avail yourself of that opportunity?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. No.

Mr. ARENS. Was Clifford Miller lying when he said this morning that he knew you as a Communist, or was Clifford Miller telling the truth?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I claim the protection of the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question. It may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever made known to your fellow workers out there at Bethlehem that you are a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I also claim the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know the man who preceded you to the witness stand, who just sat there before you did? Can you help us on that?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I also claim the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. How about Aaron Ostrofsky? Could you help us on that?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I also claim the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. This committee is trying to develop information respecting the Communist conspiracy. Do you have any information on the Communist conspiracy here in Baltimore?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I claim the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Are you at this moment a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I also claim the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Mr. McINTOSH. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Joseph Henderson, kindly come forward.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you remain standing and raise your right hand. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HENDERSON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH P. HENDERSON, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, WILLIAM H. MURPHY

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. HENDERSON. My name is Joseph P. Henderson, 725 North Avondale Road. Steelworker, currently employed by Bethlehem Steel Co., Sparrows Point.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. MURPHY. William H. Murphy, 14 East Pleasant Street.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed at Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. HENDERSON. Approximately 8 years.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity?

Mr. HENDERSON. Laborer.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately prior to your employment at Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. HENDERSON. With Rustless Iron & Steel, or American Rolling Mills Co.

Mr. ARENS. Where was that?

Mr. HENDERSON. I don't know the address. It is near Biddle Street and Edison Highway.

Mr. ARENS. In the Baltimore area?

Mr. HENDERSON. In the Baltimore area.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you employed there?

Mr. HENDERSON. Approximately 8 or 9 months.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity, please?

Mr. HENDERSON. Laborer, or let's see—an annealer's helper.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately prior to that employment?

Mr. HENDERSON. I was for a time employed by the Progressive Party.

Mr. ARENS. Where was that?

Mr. HENDERSON. The offices were in the——

Mr. ARENS. Was that here in Baltimore?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity were you employed by the Progressive Party?

Mr. HENDERSON. As an organizer.

Mr. ARENS. Who employed you?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. HENDERSON. What do you mean who employed me?

Mr. ARENS. You had someone who employed you, did you not?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. HENDERSON. I would invoke the fifth amendment. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Progressive Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. HENDERSON. I invoke the fifth amendment and decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. At the time you were a member of the Progressive Party, were you likewise a member of some other party?

Mr. HENDERSON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you work as an organizer for the Progressive Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Your best recollection, approximately.

Mr. HENDERSON. A few months. I don't know. Six months, possibly more, possibly less.

Mr. ARENS. Do you belong to a labor organization now? Do you belong to this Steelworkers local at Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And have you ever held any office or post in that organization?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. HENDERSON. I ran for the office of shop steward but was never certified so, therefore, I never actually held an office.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever held an office in a labor organization?

Mr. HENDERSON. May I confer?

Mr. ARENS. Surely.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. HENDERSON. I wish to invoke the fifth amendment and decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been an international representative for a labor organization?

Mr. HENDERSON. I decline to answer that on the grounds that any answer I gave might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be convenient for you to keep your voice up a little, please. Would you kindly repeat your answer to the question.

Mr. HENDERSON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I gave might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Why weren't you certified as a shop steward? Could you help us on that?

Mr. HENDERSON. Here again I decline to answer on the grounds that any answer I gave might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. I have in my hand a photostatic reproduction of the Worker of Sunday May 25, 1947 (p. 9). The heading is "550 Union

Officials Assail 'Red Hunt.' " It is an attack against the Committee on Un-American Activities. It says among other things:

Every American has the right to membership and activity in a political party which functions fully within the Constitution. If American Communists are denied the right to political activity, employment and all the basic American freedoms, then the entire labor and progressive movement of the Nation is faced with repression, discrimination, and defeat.

The aim of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is not security for our Nation and freedom from fear. This committee aims to create fear, doubt, and suspicion and thus to shatter the unity of American trade unions and progressives generally.

In the name of hunting Communists the committee is seeking their basic freedoms—freedom of speech and religion, freedom from involuntary servitude through abrogation of the right to strike.

We oppose red-baiting and the baiting of any minority groups.

We take our stand against the perversion of constitutional government—the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

We call on all trade unions and progressives to unite, to defeat this program of reaction.

Here is a list of those persons who joined in this statement, and we see the name of Joseph Henderson, international representative, Baltimore.

I should like to display this to you, if you please, and ask you if you would be good enough to tell us whether or not that refreshes your recollection as to your participation in that statement.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Could you help us on that, please?

Mr. HENDERSON. I claim the privilege and invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Does this statement which I just read truly and accurately reflect your sentiments?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. HENDERSON. I take the privilege and decline to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I gave might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the exhibit which I have just displayed to the witness be appropriately marked and incorporated by reference in this record.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be incorporated.

(Document marked "Henderson Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Were you directed by the Communist Party to come to the Baltimore area to obtain employment?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. HENDERSON. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I gave might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. This morning Clifford Miller testified under oath that he knew you as a Communist. We would like to afford you the opportunity to deny it while you are under oath. Would you care to avail yourself of that opportunity?

Mr. HENDERSON. Here again, I decline to answer on the grounds that any answer I gave might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Was Miller lying or was he telling the truth when he said he knew you as a Communist?

Mr. HENDERSON. The same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. HENDERSON. I decline to answer on the grounds that any answer I gave might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know the person who preceded you to the witness stand?

Mr. HENDERSON. I decline to answer on the ground that any answer I gave might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. That will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Mr. McINTOSH. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you live before you came to Baltimore? (The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. HENDERSON. Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what organizations were you a member when you were in Washington?

Mr. HENDERSON. I decline to answer on the grounds that any answer I gave might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. What work did you do in Washington?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer on the ground that any answer I gave might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you now where you were employed in Washington.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer on the grounds that any answer I gave might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. You are excused from your subpoena. You may call your next witness, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Benjamin Fino, F-i-n-o.

Mr. Fino, please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. MURPHY. My client desires not to have his testimony televised.

Mr. ARENS. Very well.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FINO. I do.

TESTIMONY OF BENJAMIN M. FINO, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, KARL F. BIENER

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. FINO. My name is Benjamin M. Fino. I live at 3105 Mondawmin Avenue, Baltimore 16. And right now I am a steelworker by necessity.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed? I don't believe you told us that.

Mr. FINO. Sparrows Point.

Mr. ARENS. Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. FINO. Right.

Mr. ARENS. Is it Feeno or Fino?

Mr. FINO. It is either way, it can be Feeno or Fino.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. FINO. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. FINO. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. BIENER. My name is Karl F. Biener. I am a member of the Baltimore bar.

Mr. ARENS. When and where were you born?

Mr. FINO. I was born in Texas, May 24, 1915.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word about your education.

Mr. FINO. I went through high school, and I went to Texas University. I have a B. S. in mining engineering.

Mr. ARENS. You have a bachelor of science in mining and metallurgy, is that right?

Mr. FINO. Mining engineering.

Mr. ARENS. And that is the University of Texas?

Mr. FINO. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Did that complete your formal education?

Mr. FINO. I had a course in Washington, a night course in chemistry.

Mr. ARENS. Washington, D. C., or the State of Washington?

Mr. FINO. Washington, D. C.

Mr. ARENS. When did you complete your course at Texas University for which you received a degree in engineering, mining engineering?

Mr. FINO. 1940.

Mr. ARENS. Now, kindly give us the principal employments which you have had since you completed your education in 1940.

Mr. FINO. Well, I worked down in Mexico for about a year.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you work in Mexico?

Mr. FINO. Contra Estaca, Sinaloa.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us in English what that is.

Mr. FINO. That is the name of the town.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you employed in the town?

Mr. FINO. In the mine, of course. Naturally.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you employed there?

Mr. FINO. I worked there about a year.

Mr. ARENS. Your next employment?

Mr. FINO. Next employment was at the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Mr. ARENS. That is for the United States Government?

Mr. FINO. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Beginning when?

Mr. FINO. I don't know the precise date.

Mr. ARENS. Your best recollection. We are not going to hold you to it too precisely.

Mr. FINO. About March, let's see, March 1941, I think it was.

Mr. ARENS. And where was that?

Mr. FINO. In Washington, D. C.

Mr. ARENS. How did you procure that employment, do you recall?

Mr. FINO. Civil service examination.

Mr. ARENS. What did you do in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. FINO. I was an engineering draftsman.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you employed?

Mr. FINO. Department of Commerce.

Mr. ARENS. Who was your immediate superior?

Mr. FINO. I don't recall. We had so many feuds around there, they changed bosses so often.

Mr. ARENS. Was your employment with the United States Government suggested, facilitated, or directed in any manner by any person known by you to be a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FINO. I needed a job, that is all.

Mr. ARENS. Did any Communist have anything to do with procurement of this employment in the United States Government?

Mr. FINO. I had to take an examination for it, anyway.

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon?

Mr. FINO. I had to take an examination for the employment.

Mr. ARENS. Did any Communist suggest to you that you take the examination?

Mr. FINO. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. Did any Communist have anything to do whatsoever with your procurement of that employment to your knowledge?

Mr. FINO. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you work there?

Mr. FINO. I worked there until December 6 of that year, of 1941.

Mr. ARENS. Then what happened?

Mr. FINO. Well, another department offered me a better job, and I couldn't resign. I had to go through a lot of red tape to get the other job.

Mr. ARENS. What other job was that, in what other department?

Mr. FINO. I think it was the Geological Survey offered me a much better job, and I couldn't accept it because they wouldn't release me where I worked.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of your employment with United States Geodetic Survey, did you have access to confidential or restricted information?

Mr. FINO. I guess I did.

Mr. ARENS. What was the nature of the confidential or restricted information to which you had access?

Mr. FINO. You draw maps. I mean everything is, all the information, for that matter.

Mr. ARENS. Was it confidential, restricted, security information?

Mr. FINO. Well—

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FINO. Would you explain it carefully? Everything is confidential in Washington, for that matter.

Mr. ARENS. Did you in the course of your employment with the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey make available to any person not authorized by law to receive the same, any confidential or security information?

Mr. FINO. I hardly knew anybody in Washington at the time.

Mr. ARENS. Just answer the question, please. Did you during the course of your—

Mr. FINO. No; of course not.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you, sir. What was your next employment after your—

Mr. FINO. I quit there and went to work in a mine down in Mexico for about 3 months with the Anaconda Copper Co.

Mr. ARENS. Was the disassociation of your employment with the United States Government wholly and purely voluntary on your part?

Mr. FINO. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Your next employment?

Mr. FINO. I worked with Anaconda Copper Co. as mining engineer for 3 months. I got a wire from the Navy Department who offered me a better job, so I quit there and came back to Washington.

Mr. ARENS. Had you had an application pending at the Navy for this better job?

Mr. FINO. I had applications all over the country. I didn't care where I worked.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of your employment in this mining work, prior to the time that you got this job in the Navy, were you associated in any way with the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers?

Mr. FINO. I don't think engineers belong to unions. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. Were you associated in any way with that organization?

Mr. FINO. No; not that I know of.

Mr. ARENS. Where was this next job, with the Navy?

Mr. FINO. Navy Hydrographic Office.

Mr. ARENS. I couldn't hear you.

Mr. FINO. Navy Hydrographic Office.

Mr. ARENS. In Washington?

Mr. FINO. In Washington.

Mr. ARENS. Did you take the job?

Mr. FINO. Sure.

Mr. ARENS. What did you do?

Mr. FINO. Same thing I did before, except I got more pay for it.

Mr. ARENS. What period of time did this commence?

Mr. FINO. Let me see. About 1943, I think. The summer of 1942.

Mr. ARENS. Was the material with which you were working classified?

Mr. FINO. As I said before, everything is confidential in Washington.

Mr. ARENS. Was this particular material classified?

Mr. FINO. Sure, everything is on secrecy.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly answer the question.

Mr. FINO. Everything is.

Mr. ARENS. Was this particular material with which you were working classified?

Mr. FINO. Definitely; yes.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you employed at this establishment?

Mr. FINO. Until I decided to join the service.

Mr. ARENS. When was that?

Mr. FINO. I volunteered, I think it was June or July of 1943 I joined the Army, and then volunteered into paratroops and went overseas and served in the Philippines and New Guinea.

Mr. ARENS. When did you leave the service?

Mr. FINO. When they discharged me.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have a commission?

Mr. FINO. No. I was just a private.

Mr. ARENS. In the infantry?

Mr. FINO. In the engineer battalion, paratroop engineer battalion. Demolition squad.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party during the period of service in the Military Establishment of this Government?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FINO. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. Had you been a member of the Communist Party prior to your entrance into the Military Establishment?

Mr. FINO. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you. Now, pick us up in the chronology of your life, if you please, in 1943. When were you discharged from the military?

Mr. FINO. In 1946 I was discharged.

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon. 1946.

What was your first employment after you were discharged?

Mr. FINO. I went to work right away. Because I didn't have any money. I went to work for the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. FINO. We had a job traveling all over the country, all along the coastline on the eastern seashore.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity did you work?

Mr. FINO. I was a surveyor if you want to call it that.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you maintain that employment?

Mr. FINO. I maintained it for about a year.

Mr. ARENS. And then what happened?

Mr. FINO. I got tired of traveling back and forth. Every time you survey an area, you have to move and you never make friends. You never get acquainted with anybody.

Mr. ARENS. What were you surveying?

Mr. FINO. Shoreline survey.

Mr. ARENS. Was your work confidential or restricted?

Mr. FINO. I don't think so. Everybody—we got the information from a lot of cities like Baltimore—I mean Philadelphia, they furnished all the information to anybody that wanted it.

Mr. ARENS. Did you prepare maps as a result of your work?

Mr. FINO. We didn't actually draw the maps. We just took down the notes, the information. Someone else prepared it.

Mr. ARENS. The work you were doing was not restricted or confidential, is that correct?

Mr. FINO. No.

Mr. ARENS. What happened in 1947 if anything?

Mr. FINO. I quit down there and I got a job. I came here to Baltimore to look around for a job.

Mr. ARENS. What caused you to come to Baltimore?

Mr. FINO. I was unemployed.

Mr. ARENS. How did you happen to select this particular town?

Mr. FINO. Well, I happened to know a girl here or so. That is the reason I came to this town.

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir. Then what did you do from the standpoint of trying to procure employment?

Mr. FINO. I looked around for several jobs, and things were pretty slow here.

Mr. ARENS. This was in 1947?

Mr. FINO. That is right. I made several applications, and things looked dead. The war was over. There wasn't any work around here. I finally got a job at Sparrows Point.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been continuously employed at Sparrows Point since 1947?

Mr. FINO. That is right. I worked 10 years. I think I missed about a week in 10 years' time.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us the organizations that you have become affiliated with since your arrival here in Baltimore to look for work.

Mr. FINO. I am a member of the union, that is about all.

Mr. ARENS. Is that all?

Mr. FINO. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Is that the only organization of which you have been a member in the course of the last few years?

Mr. FINO. To the best of my—

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FINO. I invoke my privilege to the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any organization that you belong to other than this union you mentioned a moment ago?

Mr. FINO. I invoke my privilege to the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Have you held any post or office in the union?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FINO. No. No, I haven't.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you were doing this survey work on the coast for the United States Government?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. In the 1946 and 1947 period.

Mr. FINO. I will invoke my privilege.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party while you wore the uniform of this country during the period of your service in the Army?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FINO. I think I answered that question previously.

Mr. ARENS. Then answer it again, please, sir.

Mr. FINO. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party any time from the day of your discharge by the United States Army until the day of your acquisition of this employment that took you to the west coast with the—

Mr. FINO. Not the west coast; the east coast.

Mr. ARENS. East coast with this map work for the Government?

Mr. FINO. State your question again slowly, please.

Mr. ARENS. You have told us a moment ago that you had no knowledge of Communist Party membership during the period of your service in the military. That is correct, is it not?

Mr. FINO. That is correct. Excuse me.

Mr. ARENS. Did you join the Communist Party, or were you a Communist, at any time after your discharge from the Army and before you acquired this job with the United States Government in this surveying work?

Mr. FINO. I am sorry.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FINO. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time prior to your entrance into the military service?

Mr. FINO. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time in your life prior to the time that you arrived here in this community in Baltimore to solicit employment?

Mr. FINO. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. Have you held any office or post in the labor organization out at Sparrows Point?

Mr. FINO. No. My time is very limited for any kind of activity. I travel 50 miles to work, and that doesn't leave time for any kind of activity.

Mr. ARENS. Was your time so limited that you didn't have a little time to spare for the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case? Were you able to find a little time for that activity? (The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FINO. I invoke my privilege to the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Was your time so limited that you could not participate in the formation and control of the Progressive Party here?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FINO. The same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Was your time so limited that you could not participate in the work of the Labor Youth League here?

Mr. FINO. The same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Was your time so limited that you could not participate in the work of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. FINO. Same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Was your time so limited that you could not participate in the work of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FINO. Same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Irving Kandel? Do you know him?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FINO. Same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. He taught classes, Communist Party classes, in your home, did he not?

Mr. FINO. Is that so? Same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fino, this morning Clifford Miller testified before this committee while he was under oath that he knew you as a Communist. We would like to give you an opportunity now to deny it while you are under oath. Would you care to avail yourself of that opportunity?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FINO. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Has your time been so limited that you have not been able to participate in the Baltimore Freedom of the Press Committee?

Mr. FINO. The same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Was Miller lying or was he telling the truth this morning when he took an oath and identified you as a person known by him, to a certainty, to be a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FINO. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Look over your left shoulder, if you please, and you will see Mr. Miller standing. Will you kindly stand, Mr. Miller? Do you know that man standing there?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FINO. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McIntosh?

Mr. McINTOSH. You have answered the question, Mr. Fino, regarding your Communist affiliations at various periods with the answer that you were not to your knowledge. Does that mean no? Or does that mean yes? Or what does it mean?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FINO. That is right. As far as I know, I wasn't a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. McINTOSH. Do you suggest that it is possible to be a member without knowing it?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. McINTOSH. Is it possible to be a member without knowing that you are a member?

Mr. FINO. That could be a bare possibility, too, I mean. But I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. McINTOSH. That is all. No further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. There were witnesses subpoenaed for this afternoon from whom we anticipated we would get a little cooperation, and they were excused, so all subpoenas returnable for today are returnable tomorrow.

That will conclude the hearing today. We will convene tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 3:05 p. m., Tuesday, May 7, the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 10 a. m. Wednesday, May 8, 1957.)

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE BALTIMORE, MD., AREA—PART I

WEDNESDAY, MAY 8, 1957

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Baltimore, Md.

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a. m., in room 556, Federal Building, Baltimore, Md., Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania (chairman), and Robert J. McIntosh of Michigan.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, director; George C. Williams and Frank Bonora, investigators.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will be in order. Mr. Arens, will you call your witness?

Mr. ARENS. Sirkka Lee, kindly come forward.

I believe it is Mrs. Sirkka Lee. Would you kindly remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. LEE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. SIRKKA TUOMI LEE, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ALAN H. MURRELL

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mrs. LEE. My name is Sirkka Tuomi Lee. That is spelled S-i-r-k-k-a. My middle name is T-u-o-m-i. The last name doesn't need any spelling; it is Lee, L-e-e.

Mr. ARENS. Your residence?

Mrs. LEE. 808 South Umbra Street, Baltimore 24, Md.

Mr. ARENS. Your occupation, please?

Mrs. LEE. I am a secretary.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mrs. LEE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mrs. LEE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly identify yourself?

Mr. MURRELL. I am Alan H. Murrell, member of the Baltimore bar.

Mr. ARENS. Mrs. Lee, for the purpose of identification, are you the wife of Bob Lee, Robert Lee?

Mrs. LEE. Excuse me one minute, please.

(The witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. LEE. Yes; I am.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed, please?

Mrs. LEE. I always wait for the laughs to die down.

I am employed at Eastern Stainless Steel Corp., Baltimore, Md.

Mr. ARENS. You are employed there as a secretary?

Mrs. LEE. Yes, indeed.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been so employed, please?

Mrs. LEE. I have been there now for 4½ years.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately prior to your present employment?

Mrs. LEE. Excuse me 1 minute; I want to make sure I understand that, to have everything correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Just to the best of your recollection.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. LEE. For 1 month prior to when I went to Stainless Steel, I was employed as a secretary at the Progressive Party office for the 1952 elections. Prior to that—

Mr. ARENS. Who engaged you at the Progressive Party?

Mrs. LEE. Mr. Arens, I must refuse, or I will refuse, to answer that question on the basis that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see if we understand you correctly.

You feel that if you told this committee who employed you, you might be confronted with a criminal prosecution?

Mrs. LEE. I must answer that the same way; and I will answer that sir. I refuse to answer that question on the basis that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN. I direct you to answer the question.

Mrs. LEE. I beg your pardon?

The CHAIRMAN. I direct you to answer that question.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. LEE. Senator Walter, you direct I answer the question. Although I dislike doing this in general, it was public information that the head of the Progressive Party at that particular time was Mr. Milton Bates; and he employed me to do office work.

Mr. ARENS. What was your permanent or significant employment prior to your present employment?

Mrs. LEE. My permanent?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mrs. LEE. Prior to this, you mean?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mrs. LEE. Right. Well, I was—I worked for Mr. Paul Berman, an attorney, for 8 months prior to that, as a secretary also.

Mrs. ARENS. Was that in Baltimore?

Mrs. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment prior to that employment?

Mrs. LEE. I was at Lever Bros. Co., also as a stenographer. I

worked in the stenographic pool. I was there for approximately 18 months.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall the employment immediately preceding your employment at Lever Bros.?

Mrs. LEE. I was in New York prior to that, you see. And I came to Baltimore in September of 1950, and for a month I worked for an attorney, but I can't remember his name. It was not even a month.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment in New York prior to September 1950?

Mrs. LEE. Could I sort of interject my schooling there? Maybe that will explain what I did in New York.

Mr. ARENS. Surely.

Mrs. LEE. I have always been very much interested in the theater. As a matter of fact, I studied at the Peabody here under Mrs. Bornshein, dramatics. I joined the Army, the Women's Auxiliary Corps in 1943, in June. I was in the Army for 2 years and 3 months. I served overseas 18 months.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you serve in the WACs?

Mrs. LEE. In this country I served at Daytona Beach, in the training center, as a secretary. And then also at Charleston, S. C., port of debarkation. You know, when the wounded GIs came back. By that time I would also give monologues to GIs, programs, socials, and so on.

Mr. ARENS. May I interject this question, please? What was the period of your service in the WACs?

Mrs. LEE. Now, that was, I actually enlisted in June of 1943, and I was discharged honorably in October of 1945.

Mr. ARENS. During the period of your service in the WACs, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. LEE. Excuse me 1 minute.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. LEE. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Arens, on the basis that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to display to you, if you please, certain documents. The first is a letter to the editor of the Baltimore Sun, dated January 29, 1953, which is signed by Sirkka Tuomi, in which the author attacks the McCarran-Walter Act and, among other things, expresses a personal opinion that this law is the most infamous introduced and adopted in our land.

I should like first of all, if you please, to display this letter to you and ask you if you will be good enough to verify the authenticity of the letter as a letter sent by yourself to the paper?

Mr. MURRELL. You do not contend that is a letter, do you? I understood that was the basis on which you offered it. It appears to me to be a clipping from a newspaper, a photostatic copy of a clipping from a newspaper.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness now be ordered and directed to answer the question.

The document is a reproduction, as is evident. It says here, "To the Editor of the Evening Sun—Sir," and is signed by Sirkka Tuomi.

Will you kindly look at this document and tell this committee whether or not you will verify the authenticity of this document as a true and correct copy of a letter you sent to the editor of the Sun?

Mrs. LEE. Excuse me 1 minute. I want to make sure.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. LEE. Yes, I did; and, by the way, I think that if every American feels that he would like to express himself where there are open forums, such as the Evening Sun, which I think is wonderful and most democratic, I think he should. This is in regard to anything.

(Document marked "Lee Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time you dispatched this letter to this publication, this paper here in Baltimore?

Mrs. LEE. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Arens, on the basis that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Was this letter you sent, in furtherance of any responsibility, duty, or direction which you had as a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. LEE. I refuse to answer that question, also, sir, on the basis that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. I should like, if you please, to display to you still another letter to the editor, appearing in the Baltimore Sun, dated April 20, 1957, bearing the signature of Mrs. Sirkka Tuomi Lee.

Mrs. LEE. Sirkka, please.

Mr. ARENS. I am sorry. Sirkka Tuomi Lee.

Will you kindly look at this thermofax reproduction of this newspaper article and accommodate the committee, if you please, by telling us whether or not that is a true and correct reproduction of a letter sent by yourself to the editor of the Baltimore Sun for publication?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. LEE. Yes, indeed. As you can see, I take my duty, as well as my privilege, as an American citizen to speak up where I feel there is an injustice.

(Document marked "Lee Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly speak up now and tell this committee whether or not you are presently a Communist?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. LEE. That was a good delivery. I desire to, and I will, claim that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. I see in this letter which you dispatched to the editor of the Baltimore Sun, an appeal for people to join certain groups, various civic, social, religious, and the like.

Would you kindly tell us now the civic and social groups to which you belong in furtherance of the objective which you pronounce in this letter?

Mrs. LEE. What is the objective which I pronounced in that letter, sir?

Mr. ARENS. The objective which you pronounced in the letter, as I recited a moment ago, is for people to join civic and religious and social groups in the community. So I am, therefore, asking you, if you please, ma'am, the specific social, civic, or religious groups of which you are currently a member.

Mr. LEE. Excuse me. I want to be sure I understand this. Could I see that letter again because it is in one paragraph, it is out of context.

Mr. ARENS. Certainly. I invite your attention specifically, if you please, to the last paragraph in the letter.

Mrs. LEE. I just want to be sure.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. LEE. Could I read this letter out loud, the whole thing?

Mr. ARENS. Well, it is a little long.

Mrs. LEE. It will help, I will read fast, please.

Mr. ARENS. All right.

Mrs. LEE. Because my idea—I was trying to get across is something which I think is pretty good.

Mr. ARENS. First may I just ask this: Were you a Communist when you wrote that letter?

Mrs. LEE. Before I answer that, could I read this, please?

The CHAIRMAN. Will you answer the question, please?

Mrs. LEE. All right, Senator Walter.

The CHAIRMAN. Please do not call me Senator.

Mrs. LEE. You are Representative Walter?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Walter.

Mrs. LEE. I wrote this letter in regard to a letter that appeared in the Sunday paper. I said:

SIR: Mr. Frederick Friese's letter to the Sun on retirement is very interesting and certainly can provoke a lot of discussion.

Due to better diet, improved medical care, living and working conditions, more people are reaching retirement age and living many years beyond that. This is truly wonderful because man, after a productive life, should be able to have his rest and enjoy this world.

However, there are a certain number of factors which enter into the picture and the one which concerns many people who would like to (but cannot afford to) retire is the low rate of social security paid out, as an average. Quite a few people who are now retiring lost everything they had during the depression, and since social security wasn't in existence until 1936, they aren't in as good a position as a person who starts his payments when first beginning work. So from the economic angle, there is a problem.

I agree with Mr. Friese in regard to hobbies—however, a great many who are now retiring worked 15 and 16 hours a day in their youth before unions established the 8-hour working day. They barely existed with the low wages, and after a long, hard day were not able to come home and develop a hobby.

It is a difficult matter for an older person to pick up a hobby, and he should have guidance and help. Perhaps it would be a good idea if one of our governments (Federal, State, or city) would have special agencies devoted to assisting people prior to, as well as after, retirement to find different subjects of interest and be given the feeling they aren't being thrown on the heap, discarded, because they are old and are not considered productive any longer. Perhaps part-time work, similar to a hobby of some type, could be found for retired people—its purpose being two-fold: to let them work for money (self-respect is involved here) and let them know they belong and are needed.

When people work in civic groups, church organizations, PTA's, scouts, "Y's," etc., they are truly not only performing a service to the future, but they are helping themselves by keeping an interest in the world about us. This is something which older people could continue doing in moderation.

Mr. ARENS. Do you belong to the PTA?

Mrs. LEE. I regret to say I have no children and I love children, but I can't—well, I could.

Mr. ARENS. I mean the social groups or community groups of which you are currently a member, if you please.

Mrs. LEE. Social and community groups?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mrs. LEE. I belong to the international center of the YWCA.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you belonged to that organization?

Mrs. LEE. About 3 years. My interests are primarily cultural.

Mr. ARENS. Have you made known to your associates and comembers of your organization any affiliation which you may have with the Communist Party?

Mrs. LEE. Excuse me.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. LEE. I refuse to answer that question on the basis that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Was your membership in that organization to which you have just alluded stimulated or suggested by any person known by you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. LEE. By any person known by me to be a member?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. LEE. I refuse to answer that question on the basis that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly proceed to tell us of any other organization of which you are a member or with which you are allied?

Mrs. LEE. Excuse me.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. LEE. I belong to an organization which is strictly cultural and fraternal and that is the Finnish group in Highlandtown. My main interest there, actually, Mr. Arens—you might want to know this—is to try to work with the young people, to try to develop some kind of center for them. We have plays. I direct Christmas plays and, generally, summer plays for the children. These are generally the grandchildren of the older people. I try to sort of preserve an interest in different cultural groups. We have different folk dances and so on.

Mr. ARENS. How many children do you have under your supervision or who are in your custody in this program?

Mrs. LEE. I have a teen-ager group. It fluctuates.

Mr. ARENS. Approximately the number. I don't mean to be too specific here, if you please.

Mrs. LEE. I would say, off and on, I have directed children perhaps about 40 or so that have been in different musicals.

Mr. ARENS. Do you teach them anything besides dramatics?

Mrs. LEE. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. ARENS. Have you made known to their parents whether or not you are a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. LEE. I refuse to answer that question on the basis that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Is this a nationality group organization you spoke of. I believe you said Finnish group?

Mrs. LEE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Has it at any time been connected with the International Workers Order?

Mrs. LEE. The group itself, you mean?

Mr. ARENS. The organization. Has it at any time been connected with the International Workers Order?

Mrs. LEE. I refuse to answer that question on the basis that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Does this nationality group organization with which you are connected import into the United States literature of any kind?

Mrs. LEE. This particular organization import literature?

Mr. ARENS. Yes; or does it receive literature from abroad?

Mrs. LEE. Which country from abroad? Would you be specific?

Mr. ARENS. You just tell me first of all, if you please, ma'am, if it does receive literature from abroad and then we will proceed from there. Let us take first things first.

Mrs. LEE. I know that individuals are interested in getting records, dance records, from Finland; but it is not a specific policy of any organization. I know that some people get books, you know, novels.

Mr. ARENS. From what countries?

Mrs. LEE. Sometimes the relatives send them to them. Now, this is to the best of my knowledge. I don't know everybody. Like they will send to a relative or they will see something advertised in the Finnish newspaper, and they are interested and curious to see what goes on over there although that is not their main interest.

Mr. ARENS. I don't want to embarrass you by asking your age, but you are a native-born citizen, are you not?

Mrs. LEE. I am not ashamed of my age.

Mr. ARENS. You were born in the United States?

Mrs. LEE. Yes; I was born in Minnesota.

Mr. ARENS. But you have Finnish ancestors, ties in Finland?

Mrs. LEE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Arens, may I ask, is Baltimore one of the ports to which Communist propaganda is sent?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir; a very significant quantity of Communist propaganda from the Iron Curtain bloc arrives at the port of Baltimore.

The CHAIRMAN. In significant quantity?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir; and our investigation, as I believe the distinguished chairman knows, disclosed that vast quantities of foreign Communist propaganda arrives in the United States by the ton in violation of law.

Mrs. LEE. That has nothing to do, sir—

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us about another organization in which you are active?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. LEE. I will put it this way: Not to my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been connected with the Committee to Defeat the Smith Act?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. LEE. I refuse to answer that question on the basis that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. The Committee to Defeat the Smith Act was a committee formed for the purpose of bringing pressure on the Congress, was it not, to try to emasculate the provisions of that law which was designed to prosecute Communist conspirators? Are you aware of the provisions of the Smith Act?

Mrs. LEE. I have read of it; yes, indeed.

Mr. ARENS. Are you connected, or have you been connected, with the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born?

Mrs. LEE. I refuse to answer that question on the basis that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Was it the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born that stimulated you to address this communication to the editor of the local newspaper attacking the Immigration and Nationality Act?

Mrs. LEE. Which letter is that?

Mr. ARENS. The first letter I displayed to you.

Mrs. LEE. And you are asking if I was told to do it or something like that?

Mr. ARENS. If the information which stimulated you to write this article came from the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Mrs. LEE. Well, sir, I will tell you, I was stimulated to write the article by the McCarran-Walter Act.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever read the McCarran-Walter Act?

Mrs. LEE. Yes, indeed.

Mr. ARENS. What particular provisions of the Walter-McCarran Act were abhorrent to you and caused you to say in your letter it was the most infamous law ever introduced in the land? Can you recall the particular provisions which were especially abhorrent to you?

Mrs. LEE. Yes; I can recall some of the provisions which President Eisenhower, himself, has found to be most injudicious.

Mr. ARENS. What about the provisions which are designed to exclude the importation of Communists; were those particularly abhorrent to you?

Mrs. LEE. Let me put it this way: The whole act, in my opinion, should be rewritten. The quota provisions were very unfair and over 150 organizations throughout the country have protested not only the quota, but the racial and religious implications of the act. Not only that—

The CHAIRMAN. What are the religious implications? There are none actually, because religion is not mentioned anywhere in the law. No one is admitted or excluded because of any religious belief or connection or affiliation. I have heard that before. That is the usual line.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Mitzi Swan?

Mrs. LEE. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Irene Barkaga?

Mrs. LEE. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Barkaga, will you stand up? Mrs. Lee, do you know the lady standing over to the left?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. LEE. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions?

The witness is excused.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Irene Barkaga, kindly come forward, please. Please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss BARKAGA. I do.

TESTIMONY OF IRENE BARKAGA

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, address, and occupation.

Miss BARKAGA. My name is Irene Barkaga. I live at 1507 Eastern Avenue. I work for Bendix Radio.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Barkaga, will you kindly spell your name?

Miss BARKAGA. It is B-a-r-k-a-g-a.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Barkaga, do you know the lady who is standing here now at the clerk's desk?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes; I do.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever served in the Communist Party with her?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes; I have.

Mr. ARENS. Do you here and now, under oath, identify her as a person known by you to be a Communist?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Miss BARKAGA. Bendix Radio.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been so employed?

Miss BARKAGA. I have been there since July, 1951.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity?

Miss BARKAGA. Well—

Mr. ARENS. Miss Barkaga, Could you keep your voice up a little bit. It is a little difficult to hear you otherwise.

Miss BARKAGA. I work at Bendix Radio, and I work in the shop on Government work.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed there?

Miss BARKAGA. Since July, 1951.

Mr. ARENS. Now, tell this committee, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes; I have.

Mr. ARENS. So that the record is absolutely clear at this point, was your membership at the suggestion and request of an intelligence agency of this Government?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes; of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been in sympathy with the Communist Party or its movement?

Miss BARKAGA. No, never.

Mr. ARENS. You have only been a member of the Communist Party for the purpose of procuring information to serve your Government; is that correct?

Miss BARKAGA. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Before we proceed further, and so that our record will reflect the chronology of your activities in the Communist Party, kindly tell us what were the dates of your actual service in the Communist Party? When did you join and when did you disassociate yourself from the party?

Miss BARKAGA. I joined the party in April of 1952 and I was dropped as of July, 1954.

Mr. ARENS. Was all of your service in the Communist Party in the Baltimore area?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us, if you please, Miss Barkaga, in your own words, the circumstances which led to your actual joining of the party, or, to put it another way, the route you took to finally obtain the objective that the intelligence agency had for you to become a Communist.

Miss BARKAGA. Yes. When I was requested to try to join the Communist Party, I met with the suspected Communist Party members, and later I joined organized front groups.

Mr. ARENS. What were some of the front groups you joined in order to get as close as possible to the party?

Miss BARKAGA. I joined the Baltimore Youth for Peace—later, or about the same time, a group which I call the "Sewing Group." We worked on different things. Those were the first two organizations I joined.

Mr. ARENS. Did you thereafter become identified or join or become active in the Committee To Defeat the Smith Act?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes. I attended the meetings.

Mr. ARENS. Who actually enlisted you in the Communist Party and when?

Miss BARKAGA. On April 1952, Jean Silverberg asked me to join the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Would you hesitate there, please, and let us be sure this record reflects the correct identification and spelling of this lady's name. Is it Jean?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And Silverberg. Would you kindly spell that. Is it S-i-l-v-e-r-b-e-r-g?

Miss BARKAGA. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know her, and do you now testify under oath that you knew her, as a Communist?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes; I did.

Mr. ARENS. During your membership in the Communist Party, were you assigned to any particular group?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes; three groups where membership changed within the periods of membership.

Mr. ARENS. Let us begin with the first group. Could you tell us, first of all, the identity of the group; what group was it?

Miss BARKAGA. I don't remember any name.

Mr. ARENS. It did not have any name?

Miss BARKAGA. I don't remember any name.

Mr. ARENS. Who were the other persons to your certain knowledge, who were members of this first group or cell of the Communist Party to which you were assigned?

Miss BARKAGA. Well, it was Corinne Wood, Fred Hallengren, and Jean Silverberg.

Mr. ARENS. Let us be sure we have the correct spellings of those names, and the identification absolutely certain.

Is Jean Silverberg the same lady who recruited you into the Communist Party and about whom you have already told us?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Corinne Wood. Is that C-o-r-r-i-n-e—W-o-o-d?

Miss BARKAGA. I believe I would spell it with one R, two N's.

Mr. ARENS. And Fred Hallengren, the other person you told us about who was in this first cell?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Is that H-a-l-l-e-n-g-r-e-n?

Miss BARKAGA. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Who was the leader of this particular cell to which you were first assigned by the Communist Party?

Miss BARKAGA. I am not sure, but I believe it was Jean Silverberg.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you remain in this first group?

Miss BARKAGA. From April 1952 until, I believe, September of 1952.

Mr. ARENS. Where were the meetings held?

Miss BARKAGA. In members' homes.

Mr. ARENS. From one home to another?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Then what was the next group to which you were assigned? I understood you to say a moment ago you were in the first group until September 1952.

Miss BARKAGA. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Will you tell us about the second group, please?

Miss BARKAGA. Milton Newman and Mitzi Freishtat Swan were brought into our group.

Mr. ARENS. That was the old group merely expanded?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Is that M-i-l-t-o-n N-e-w-m-a-n?

Miss BARKAGA. I think it is.

Mr. ARENS. This Mitzi Freishtat Swan, M-i-t-z-i; is that correct?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Freishtat; F-r-e-i-s-h-t-a-t-d?

Miss BARKAGA. I don't think it has a D.

Mr. ARENS. Were the persons who were in the first cell likewise in the expanded cell?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you remain in this second group?

Miss BARKAGA. Until about December of 1952.

Mr. ARENS. This Mitzi Freishtat was Mitzi Freishtat Swan?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Miss ARENS. S-w-a-n was her married name?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You remained in the second group until December?

Miss BARKAGA. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. What happened in December?

Miss BARKAGA. Mitzi Swan and I were put into a group with Sirkka Tuomi Lee, Kirsten Hallengren, and Joseph Kralik.

Mr. ARENS. You and Mitzi Swan were put into a group with others; is that correct?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Was the lady who preceded you to the witness stand—who has been, and who identified herself as Mrs. Sirkka Tuomi Lee—in that group?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. That was a closed Community Party cell group?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Who were the names of the others again, please?

Miss BARKAGA. Kirsten Hallengren.

Mr. ARENS. Is that K-i-r-s-t-e-n?

Miss BARKAGA. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. And Hallengren, H-a-l-l-e-n-g-r-e-n?

Miss BARKAGA. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Who was the last person?

Miss BARKAGA. Joseph Kralik.

Mr. ARENS. K-r-a-l-i-k?

Miss BARKAGA. I believe that is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Now, were those the only cells to which you were actually attached during your experience in the Communist Party?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Now, did you, in addition to your activity and work within these cells, also attend other Communist Party meetings?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us about those, in your own words, if you please.

Miss BARKAGA. Well, in December 1952, in January of 1953, I attended a meeting with Mitzi Swan and Irving Kandel.

Mr. ARENS. You have already told us who Mitzi Swan is. Tell us who was, or is, Irving Kandel? Is that K-a-n-d-e-l?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly tell us who he was.

Miss BARKAGA. I did know who he was before, but I believe he was a member of the underground.

Mr. ARENS. What type of meetings were these that you held with these two people?

Miss BARKAGA. Underground meetings.

Mr. ARENS. What gave you the impression that they were underground meetings? I understood you to say you believed they were.

Miss BARKAGA. When Kandel came to the first meeting, he did not give the name; but I recognized him, I had met him before I had joined the party. He said he is not living at home; he is living under a different name, and this is necessary to keep the party from being decapitated.

Mr. ARENS. Was that part of the security operation of the party?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall any other security measures which were taken by the Communist Party during this period?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes. I was told to arrive at a certain time; I arrived a little early once and was reprimanded by Mitzi Swan.

Mr. ARENS. Where were these underground meetings held?

Miss BARKAGA. Mitzi Swan's home.

Mr. ARENS. During your membership in the Community Party, did you ever attend a meeting of the Communist Youth Commission?

Miss BARKAGA. I am not sure, but I believe it was a meeting of the Communist Youth Commission.

Mr. ARENS. What are the facts, as you presently recall them, which causes you to reach that conclusion?

Miss BARKAGA. I attended this meeting about December 1952, and present were George Meyers, head of the Communist Party, and Mitzi Swan, Irving Winkler.

Mr. ARENS. W-i-n-k-l-e-r?

Miss BARKAGA. That is right, and Claire Friedman Round.

Mr. ARENS. What transpired at that meeting?

Miss BARKAGA. I am afraid I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when was the meeting held?

Miss BARKAGA. Around December, 1952, at Mitzi Swan's home.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall any other security measures which the Communist Party started during your experience in the party?

Miss BARKAGA. Well, we met in small groups. I remember at one meeting, Fred Hallengren said "Comrade" Abe Kotelchuck. He was reprimanded for that, and he changed that to "Brother" Kotelchuck.

Mr. ARENS. You probably heard, did you not, the testimony of Clifford Miller yesterday?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Were you present when he testified?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Was Mr. Miller in any cell with you?

Miss BARKAGA. No.

Mr. ARENS. Was he active in any operation in which you were active as a Communist in this very community?

Miss BARKAGA. I don't think I have ever seen him.

Mr. ARENS. You have never seen him?

Miss BARKAGA. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, although he was intensively active in the Communist Party up until yesterday when he testified—and you were active for a period of 2 years in the Communist Party here—you have never made the acquaintance of one another; is that correct?

Miss BARKAGA. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. I understood you to say earlier, Miss Barkaga, that you disassociated yourself, or were disassociated, from the Communist Party in 1954; is that correct?

Miss BARKAGA. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us what happened then?

Miss BARKAGA. Well, in May of 1953, sir, Sirkka Tuomi Lee told me that I was being "put on ice" and she would be my contact.

Mr. ARENS. When she said "put on ice," what is the significance of that terminology?

Miss BARKAGA. I wasn't to attend any party meetings.

Mr. ARENS. You were to be a nondisclosed member of the operation; is that correct?

Miss BARKAGA. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Was Mrs. Lee your superior in the Communist Party?

Miss BARKAGA. I don't know. I believe she was.

Mr. ARENS. What did you do when you were put on ice, to use the terminology which you phrased here a moment ago?

Miss BARKAGA. Well, we made appointments and met a few times, but most of the times she made an appointment to see me, but broke the appointment or else never showed up. But I didn't do much of anything.

Mr. ARENS. You said earlier that in the route that you took in order to become finally, as the ultimate objective, a Communist, you joined a number of front groups?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are there persons in these various groups in the community here whom you know as Communists, or whom you knew as Communists?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us some of them. How about the Baltimore Youth for Peace?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes. Mitzi Swan and Claire Friedman Round were members of the Communist Party and active in that group.

Mr. ARENS. Were they active in the leadership of Baltimore Youth for Peace?

Miss BARKAGA. I believe Mitzi Swan was chairman of the Baltimore Youth for Peace.

Mr. ARENS. How about the Maryland Peace Council? Did you know comrades who were active in positions of leadership in the Maryland Peace Council?

Miss BARKAGA. No, I did not.

Mr. ARENS. You mentioned the Labor Youth League earlier. Did you subsequently determine that certain members of the Labor Youth League were also Communist Party members?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes. Mitzi Swan and Claire Friedman Round.

Mr. ARENS. They were in the Labor Youth League?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes. I believe Mitzi Swan was chairman also of the Labor Youth League.

Mr. ARENS. Did they attend the meetings at the direction of the Communist Party?

Miss BARKAGA. I believe so, but I can't say for sure.

Mr. ARENS. You also mentioned a sewing group as I recall. Can you give us a little better description of the sewing group with which you were connected?

Miss BARKAGA. As best I can remember, a group of us women got together and either made sewing—I made an apron for myself—and others were working on other things; I am not sure, but I believe at that time Sirkka was working on some play.

Mr. ARENS. Were there Communist ladies in the sewing group?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes. I believe Sirkka Tuomi and Kirsten Hallengren.

Mr. ARENS. Was the sewing group a conduit or route into the Communist Party?

Miss BARKAGA. I think so.

Mr. ARENS. How about the Jesse Reed Committee? Did you have any connection at any time with the Jesse Reed Committee?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes, I was a member. I had a membership card to the Jesse Reed Committee.

Mr. ARENS. What is the Jesse Reed Committee? Can you help us on that?

Miss BARKAGA. It is a group organized to help young Negroes convicted of crime around Baltimore.

Mr. ARENS. That is what they tell the world is the purpose; is that correct?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Is it controlled by the Communist Party?

Miss BARKAGA. I think so.

Mr. ARENS. Who was chairman of the Jesse Reed Committee during your connection with that group?

Miss BARKAGA. I believe it was at one time Levy Williamson was chairman.

Mr. ARENS. He was the man who was on the stand yesterday. Did you see him here yesterday?

Miss BARKAGA. I wasn't here.

Mr. ARENS. You were not here yesterday?

Miss BARKAGA. Not all day.

Mr. ARENS. You attended meetings of the Committee to Defeat the Smith Act; is that correct?

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall any members of the Communist Party, comrades known by you to be in the party, who were active in the Committee To Defeat the Smith Act?

Miss BARKAGA. No, not actually—persons I know were not actually there. They were present at this one meeting I attended on the Smith Act.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have in mind, Miss Barkaga, any instances in which comrades penetrated non-Communist, or even anti-Communist, organizations for the purpose of promulgating the objectives of the Communist Party?

Miss BARKAGA. Well, I believe Jean Silverberg and Corinne Wood attended the meetings of the League of Women Voters.

Mr. ARENS. Was that at the direction of the Communist Party?

Miss BARKAGA. I can't say for sure.

Mr. ARENS. But you were under the impression at least that they were active in the League of Women Voters; is that correct?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes, and Corinne Wood and I attended a meeting of the PTA of a school to which her children belong.

Sirkka Tuomi Lee and I and someone else had dinner at the International Y's, a sort of dinner of all nations, something like that.

And Jean Silverberg and I bowled with the St. Rita's Bowling League which was in Dundalk.

Milton Newman was active in his group of his housing projects.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be convenient for you to raise your voice a little more, please?

You stated earlier, Miss Barkaga, that you were employed with the Bendix Radio Corp. here in Baltimore; is that correct?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. In connection with your employment, are you a member of a labor union?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes; I am.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever held an official position in the union?

Miss BARKAGA. I was elected shop steward.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party while you were a shop steward?

Miss BARKAGA. Yes; I was.

Mr. ARENS. What was the reaction of the party to your election as shop steward?

Miss BARKAGA. Sirkka Tuomi Lee told me that the leaders were pleased to hear I was elected as shop steward.

Mr. ARENS. Did the Communist Party at any time undertake to influence you in your activities as a shop steward or within the labor union?

Miss BARKAGA. Well, I was offered a semisalaried job, which meant I would have had to drop out of the union; and I told this to Mitzi

Swan about the time I was meeting with Kandel. She told me not to take the job.

I showed one grievance I had written against the supervisor to Sirkka Tuomi Lee. She made a few suggestions, but thought it was all right.

Mr. ARENS. To your knowledge, are there any members of the Communist Party presently employed at the Bendix Radio Corp.?

Miss BARKAGA. No.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

I should like personally, on behalf of the staff, to thank her because she has been exceedingly nervous. It is the first time she has ever appeared in public for a presentation of this kind.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Barkaga, I would like to say to you what I said yesterday to Mr. Miller, what you did is not an easy thing. What we are doing is very distasteful to us.

As elected representatives of the people, it is nauseating to be compelled to sit here and hear our fellow citizens take refuge behind an amendment of the Constitution which is designed to protect people.

All of us have a job to do, and we hope that the result of our labors will be an awareness on the part of all the American people so that they, without governmental activities, can deal with this problem and will deal with it.

The only reason why there is any significant group of Communists in the United States is because the people have been unwilling to throw them out of decent organizations.

I trust that, as a result of the work which you have been doing, the American people will decide that they will do something about this very serious problem.

The committee will stand in recess for 5 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. Mr. Arens, will you call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Fred Hallengren, will you come forward? Will you please remain standing, Mr. Hallengren, while the chairman administers an oath to you?

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand.

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HALLENGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MURRELL. Mr. Arens, Mr. Hallengren expresses a desire he not be televised during the questioning.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the counsel should present his request to the Chair.

Mr. MURRELL. I will direct it to you, Mr. Walter. I will repeat my request on behalf of Mr. Hallengren that he not be televised during the questioning.

The CHAIRMAN. The television people have been instructed that, in the event the witness does not desire to be televised, they will not televise him.

TESTIMONY OF FRED HALLENGREN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
ALAN H. MURRELL

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. HALLENGREN. I am Fred Hallengren. I reside with my family in our home at 608 Savage Street, Baltimore 24.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation, if you please?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I am an airplane mechanic.

Mr. ARENS. Where, please?

Mr. HALLENGREN. At Friendship Airport.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today, Mr. Hallengren, in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I beg your pardon?

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by this committee?

Mr. HALLENGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. HALLENGREN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you identify yourself?

Mr. MURRELL. My name is Alan H. Murrell. I am a member of the Baltimore Bar.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity are you employed at Friendship Airport?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I am an airplane mechanic, an airplane engine mechanic.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been so engaged?

Mr. HALLENGREN. That is my entire work. I have always worked on airplanes since I come out of school.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been engaged at Friendship Airport?

Mr. HALLENGREN. Since it opened.

Mr. ARENS. For what company are you employed?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I work for Capital Airlines, one of the major airlines in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. How long has Capital Airlines, with which you are employed, been operating there?

Mr. HALLENGREN. They have been operating at Friendship Airport since the opening day in June 1950.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately preceding your present employment?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I went to work for Capital Airlines January 1946, January 8, 1946.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you physically employed prior to the time you were employed at Friendship Airport?

Mr. HALLENGREN. Well, Capital Airlines was operating at Baltimore Municipal Airport at that time in East Baltimore, Harbor Field was the name.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you engaged there, please?

Mr. HALLENGREN. June 1948, until we moved to Friendship Airport.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly tell us now the employment which you had preceding the employment you have just described?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I was an inspector for Capital Airlines.

Mr. ARENS. Where was that, please?

Mr. HALLENGREN. In Washington, D. C.

Mr. ARENS. The National Airport?

Mr. HALLENGREN. That is the Washington National Airport.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you engaged there as inspector for Capital Airlines?

Mr. HALLENGREN. Well, I first was hired as an experienced airplane mechanic. At the end of the war, we expanded tremendously, as all other airlines did; and we bought a lot of war surplus airplanes from the United States Army, and those Army airplanes were built for hauling heavy loads—I must explain how this operates because you won't understand.

Mr. ARENS. We are not interested in building this record on that particular phase of your knowledge. We are interested, if you please, sir, on the dates of your employment. Now, kindly tell us the dates of your employment at the National Capital Airport in Washington.

Mr. HALLENGREN. Washington, D. C., January 8, 1946.

Mr. ARENS. What employment preceded that employment?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I worked for Trans World, Intercontinental division. That is TWA Airlines.

Mr. ARENS. Where was that?

Mr. HALLENGREN. At Washington Airport.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you work for them?

Mr. HALLENGREN. Approximately a year and a half.

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir. Will you kindly tell us now the employment which antedated that?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I worked for the Civil Aeronautics Administration at Washington National Airport.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have a civil-service job?

Mr. HALLENGREN. Yes, sir, I did; I had a civil-service job.

Mr. ARENS. What was your job?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I was an airplane and airplane engine mechanic for the United States Government.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you have that employment?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I went to work for the Government about October 1942.

Mr. ARENS. It terminated when, please?

Mr. HALLENGREN. It terminated approximately June or July. I believe it was July 1944.

Mr. ARENS. Was the termination of your employment occasioned by voluntary action on your part, or were you discharged?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I was discharged. I was asked to go to Dallas, and I did not wish to go to Dallas. So I went to work for TWA.

Mr. ARENS. Was that the sole and exclusive reason why your employment with the United States Government was terminated?

Mr. HALLENGREN. As far as I know.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party during the period of your service with the Civil Aeronautics Administration in Washington?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. HALLENGREN. I refuse to answer that on the ground my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I was born October 4, 1908.

Mr. ARENS. Where, please, sir?

Mr. HALLENGREN. At Jamaica, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word about your formal education, please, sir.

Mr. HALLENGREN. I went to school in New York State. Then I went to a technical training school in St. Louis, Mo., taking up airplane mechanics and airplane engine mechanics.

Mr. ARENS. When did you complete that training?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I completed that education in the summer of 1931.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a sketch of the employment which you had before assuming employment with the Federal Government in 1942.

Mr. HALLENGREN. I had to work my apprenticeship to qualify for a United States Government license. So I worked 2 years, wherever I could, as apprentice and I learned to fly during the same time. Then I obtained a position as an airplane mechanic in Newark, N. J.; and many small groups of people organized airlines, and one was organized out of our Newark Airport. It was called Central Airlines.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you work for Central Airlines?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I went to work for Central Airlines in February 1935.

Mr. ARENS. And your next employment?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I worked for Central Airlines until the end of 1936. I was contacted by a friend of mine who was working in a California airplane factory and he said, "I can get you 6 cents an hour more if you come out here, Freddy."

Mr. ARENS. What was the name of the firm with which you were employed?

Mr. HALLENGREN. Consolidated Aircraft Corp. in San Diego, Calif.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you employed there?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I went to work for them the first of the year in 1937 until about August 1938.

Mr. ARENS. And your next employment?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I went to work for Eastern Air Lines.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. HALLENGREN. In Washington, D. C., in September, 1938.

Mr. ARENS. I take it during all that employment which you are describing, you were engaged in mechanical work for the airlines?

Mr. HALLENGREN. Yes, sir; always airplane mechanics work.

Mr. ARENS. You are a licensed Government mechanic?

Mr. HALLENGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Government ratings?

Mr. HALLENGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. In aircraft engines?

Mr. HALLENGREN. Aircraft is one license.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have one in aircraft instruments?

Mr. HALLENGREN. No.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have one in the construction and operation of aircraft?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I don't have the instructor's permit.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any permit in the construction and operation of aircraft?

Mr. HALLENGREN. No, sir; I just have mechanics.

Mr. ARENS. You have a Government mechanic's permit?

Mr. HALLENGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a permit under Government CAA regulations?

Mr. HALLENGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you had that permit?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I received that in November 1932.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any other permits or licenses from the Federal Government?

Mr. HALLENGREN. No, sir; I don't.

Mr. ARENS. You gave us your last employment in this chronology of your work. What was the next employment that followed?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I went to work for Pan American Airways in Baltimore, Md., in 1939.

Mr. ARENS. And your next one, please, sir.

Mr. HALLENGREN. I went to work for the United States Government, October 1942.

Mr. ARENS. Is that the CAA employment you have already mentioned?

Mr. HALLENGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you connected, a member of, or active in, any committee in behalf of Morton Sobell in the Baltimore area?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I refuse to answer that on the ground it might tend to intimidate me.

Mr. ARENS. I did not hear you.

Mr. HALLENGREN. I refuse to answer that on the grounds that it might tend to intimidate me.

Mr. ARENS. You said it might intimidate you? You mean incriminate?

Mr. HALLENGREN. Incriminate, excuse me.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Morton Sobell?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I refuse to answer that on the ground that my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Just a little while ago, in the course of the last half hour or so, a young lady, Miss Irene Barkaga, testified, under oath, and said that while she was an undercover agent in the Communist Party she knew you as a Communist.

We want to give you now, while you are under oath, an opportunity to deny it. Do you care to avail yourself of that opportunity?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Are you this minute a member of the Communist conspiratorial apparatus in Baltimore?

Mr. HALLENGREN. I refuse to answer that on the grounds my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that concludes the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness may be excused. Please call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. George Meyers, kindly come forward.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the

truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?
Mr. MEYERS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE A. MEYERS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
JOSEPH FORER

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. MEYERS. My name is George Meyers. I live at 2410 Callow Avenue.

On the question of occupation, I want to say that I consider this hearing a violation of the Constitution under the first amendment; and I will refuse to answer for that reason. Also, on the basis that my rights under the fifth amendment I do not have to testify against myself.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend, sir, that if you told this committee truthfully what your present occupation is, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. MEYERS. It is possible.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. MEYERS. I was told, commanded, to be here.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. MEYERS. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Will counsel identify himself?

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer, Washington, D. C.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Meyers, I intend in this interrogation to confine the interrogation exclusively to activities or status by yourself since March 24, 1955, on which date, as a matter of public information, you were released from the Federal penitentiary for conviction under the Smith Act. I should like to display to you, if you please, sir, a photostatic reproduction of a document entitled, "Excerpts From the 1956 Election Policy Statement Adopted by the National Election Conference Held by the Communist Party, USA," in which is set forth the body of this statement and at the end of which document appears a typed letter, addressed to a resident of Baltimore commenting upon that statement, bearing the signature "George A. Meyers, 2419 Callow Avenue, Apartment 5, Baltimore 17, Md."

Kindly look at this document, if you please, sir, and accommodate this committee by telling us whether or not that is a true and correct reproduction of a letter prepared, or caused to be prepared, by yourself and signed by yourself.

(The witness conferred with his counsel)

Mr. MEYERS. I refuse to answer on the same grounds. I just wonder how you got the letter. It is a personal letter.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of that?

Mr. ARENS. October 11, 1956, is the date, Mr. Chairman. I respectfully suggest that this document be appropriately marked and incorporated in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. The document will be so marked and incorporated.

(Document marked "Meyers Exhibit No. 1," follows:)

MEYERS EXHIBIT No. 1

EXCERPTS FROM THE 1956 ELECTION POLICY STATEMENT ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL ELECTION CONFERENCE HELD BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

Organized labor and its allies have indicated clearly their objectives in this election campaign:

1. To press vigorously on all candidates a program that meets the needs of the people.

2. To take all practical measures to help guarantee the defeat of the Cadillac Cabinet, and McCarthyite and Dixiecrat Congressman.

These objectives will receive the support of workers and progressives.

It is well known that the Communists have a viewpoint that goes far beyond that of most leaders of organized labor. We hold that sooner of later labor and its allies must organize politically with far greater independence if they are to act effectively against the giant monopolies who dominate the life of the Nation. Labor will one day not only have to curb the trusts but organize politically so that the trusts become the common property of the American people—that is, organize for socialism.

But that, however, is not the question of the 1956 election.

* * * * *

The chief issues which we feel must be advanced for the national welfare today are:

On peace.—End the cold war; adopt a settled policy of peaceful co-existence with Socialist and all other nations, excluding war as a method of settling international differences; strengthen the universal character of the United Nations as a peace agency by seating Peoples China and other nations seeking U. N. admission; outlaw atomic war, reduce world armaments by agreements, promote world trade, end H-bomb tests and the peacetime draft.

On civil rights and civil liberties.—Prompt Federal enforcement of the Supreme Court desegregation decision through every channel open to the executive; firm action against those who advocate and practice force and violence against the Supreme Court decision; a legislative program to guarantee full political and economic rights to the Negro people, North and South; end Senate filibustering by changing rule 22; replace the seniority system of naming congressional chairmen with a democratic system based on merit; end the witch hunt of the last 10 years, with its congressional inquisitions, loyalty-security programs, and the inevitable system of faceless informers; repeal the Taft-Hartley, McCarran and Smith Acts; end Smith Act prosecutions and extend amnesty to all political prisoners.

On economic security.—A rapid shift from a swollen arms program to a welfare economy, with increased minimum wages, widened social security and a giant school, housing, health and hospital program, legislation to gain farm income parity for the family-type farm and an enlarged program for surplus food distribution at home and abroad; stop the Federal give-aways of our power, agricultural and mineral resources; legislation to attain the shorter workweek with no reduction in pay and guaranties against unemployment due to automation; nationalization of the atomic energy industry.

* * * * *

While the Communist Party makes no endorsement of Presidential candidates, its members, whether in trade unions or other civic bodies, will associate themselves with the political efforts of their organization in the struggle against big business and its candidates.

Already the growing strength of the labor, Negro, and farm movements have won significant commitments from the major candidates. Irrespective of the outcome of the elections, the independent movement of the people will have to wage mighty legislative and political struggles for the needs of the people and eventually effect a new political alignment in the Nation.

For, in the last analysis, only struggle, only the unity of labor and its allies on issues—before, during, and after election campaigns—can guarantee that peace, security, and democracy can be won.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I want to invite your attention, Mr. Meyers, particularly to the body of the letter which bears your signature and this particular part of the body of the letter:

The party is going through a real crisis, and frankly speaking, I think it was long overdue. The final outcome is yet to be decided. Regardless, I have the greatest confidence in the future of our labor movement, and its ability to bring about a Socialist America.

Did you write those words, or cause those words to be written, to your correspondent?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MEYERS. I refuse to answer on the grounds I previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Is a Socialist America your objective?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MEYERS. I am a firm advocate of socialism. I think that is the best form of government.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are you employed, Mr. Meyers?

Mr. MEYERS. Well, I answered that earlier, or rather I refused to answer it, Mr. Walter, on the basis of the first and fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not trying to create the impression that you are employed in anything connected with the labor movement, were you?

Mr. MEYERS. What do you mean trying to create an impression? I am not trying to create an impression for anyone. I came here because I was commanded to.

The CHAIRMAN. Subpenaed.

Mr. MEYERS. Commanded, it said on the subpoena. What kind of language is that?

Mr. ARENS. You say you are a firm advocate of socialism. Are you likewise a firm advocate of communism?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MEYERS. How do you differentiate?

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Arens, ask him: Are you a Communist? That will simplify the whole thing. Are you a Communist?

Mr. MEYERS. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you are now head of District 4 of the Communist conspiracy, which encompasses Maryland and the District of Columbia.

Mr. MEYERS. I am not now, nor have ever been, the head of any conspiracy.

Mr. ARENS. Are you, or have you ever been, a member of an organization dedicated to the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence?

Mr. MEYERS. Never in my life.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MEYERS. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. I observe here in the statement that, among the objectives announced by the Communist Party on this document bearing the letter which was displayed to you, there was:

End the witch hunt of the last 10 years, with its congressional inquisitions, loyalty-security programs, and the inevitable system of faceless informers;

repeal the Taft-Hartley, McCarran and Smith Acts; and Smith Act prosecutions and extend amnesty to all political prisoners.

Are these part of your objectives in your work?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MEYERS. I would have to have a clarification of the question, please. If you mean how I feel about them—

Mr. ARENS. I see here your protest about "faceless informers." Did you hear the young lady testify a little while ago that she knew you as a Communist?

Mr. MEYERS. Yes; I heard her.

Mr. ARENS. Was she telling the truth?

Mr. MEYERS. I am going to refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to display to you now a document:

Please Post TOWN MEETING Panel Discussion. "Are Congressional Investigations, And The Security Program, A Safeguard Or A Threat To Democracy?"

This panel discussion, according to this document, is to be held May 10, 1957, at 8:30 p. m., Mount Lebanon Baptist Church, in the lecture room, 2320 Reisterstown Road.

I observe here that one of the panelists is "George Myers, Communist Party member, Smith Act defendant."

Kindly look at that document and tell us whether or not that refreshes your recollection, whether or not you participated in that panel discussion on the problem of congressional committees and their witch hunts?

Mr. MEYERS. I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Are you truthfully and accurately described in this leaflet as Communist Party member, Smith Act defendant?

Mr. MEYERS. I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that this document be appropriately marked and be incorporated by reference in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be so marked and incorporated.

(Document marked "Meyers Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Could you help this committee, Mr. Meyers, to develop facts by which we can protect this country? Can you tell who is the head of the District of Columbia Communist Party?

Mr. MEYERS. I want to correct or, at least, set certain things straight. I am not going to help this committee in any way, shape, or form. I consider it an unconstitutional committee, and I have no intention of being any kind of friendly witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you not direct the Communist Party to test the question of constitutionality of the act of Congress which created this committee in the court? Why not go to the Supreme Court and find out?

Mr. MEYERS. I just gave you my opinion.

Mr. ARENS. Now, can you tell us, during the period immediately prior to March 24, 1956, who assumed the duty that you had?

Mr. MEYERS. Assumed the duties I had?

Mr. ARENS. Yes; in this area. Who was your successor during a period immediately prior to March 24, 1956?

Mr. MEYERS. I don't quite follow you.

Mr. ARENS. Immediately prior to March 24, 1956, you were not in circulation, were you?

Mr. MEYERS. I was in prison as a result of a frameup; yes.

Mr. ARENS. Who assumed your duties during that period when you were in prison?

Mr. MEYERS. Duties? What duties?

Mr. ARENS. The duties that you had immediately prior to the time you found yourself in prison. Who was your successor in that post of responsibility which you had? Could you help us on that?

Mr. MEYERS. In what capacity? Duties in what capacity?

Mr. ARENS. In the full-time occupation in which you were engaged immediately prior to the time you found yourself in prison.

Mr. MEYERS. I am going to refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of Irving Kandel?

Mr. MEYERS. I refuse to answer to answer on the ground previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of William S. Johnson?

Mr. MEYERS. I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. ARENS. He is one of your subordinates in charge of the Communist Party in the District of Columbia, is he not?

Mr. MEYERS. You have my answer. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Have you, in the course of the last year or so, at the time of the Khrushchev speech, taken any change of position with reference to Comrade Stalin?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MEYERS. How do you mean? What point are you trying to make?

Mr. ARENS. I believe you know. Have you taken a change of position with reference to Joseph Stalin as a result of the famous Khrushchev speech of desanctification?

Mr. MEYERS. I am perfectly willing to discuss my opinions, political, personal, and so on, but not under the duress of this committee.

Mr. ARENS. I have in my hand a thermofax copy of the Communist Worker of Sunday, October 7, 1956, showing a letter to the editor, signed George Meyers, 2419 Callow Avenue, Apartment 5, Baltimore 17, Md. Do you recall addressing that letter to the editor of the Worker?

Mr. MEYERS. I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that document be appropriately marked and incorporated by reference in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be so marked and incorporated.

(Document marked "Meyers Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. What was your position with reference to the events in Hungary of some several months ago?

Mr. MEYERS. As I said previously, I prefer to discuss my opinions, but not under the duress of this committee.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Clifford Miller?

Mr. MEYERS. I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Now, he was not a faceless informer. He had a face yesterday when he said he knew you as a Communist. Could you tell

us whether or not he was being truthful with this committee when he was under oath and identified you as one who was currently active in the Communist Party?

Mr. MEYERS. I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that concludes the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused from further attendance at this hearing.

Mr. ARENS. Will Irving Kandel kindly come forward, please.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God.

Mr. KANDEL. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF IRVING KANDEL, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. KANDEL. I believe, as close as I can figure, that those are three separate questions. I wonder if you would be good enough, to avoid possible confusion, to give your questions one at a time.

Mr. ARENS. Before you do that, do you know the gentleman who is standing here at the clerk's desk signing the voucher?

Mr. KANDEL. Now, which one of these questions do you want me to answer first?

The CHAIRMAN. The first question has been withdrawn. You have been asked if you know the man who was signing this paper. Do you know him?

Mr. KANDEL. There is no man there.

The CHAIRMAN. There he is. Turn around, you will see.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know him?

Mr. KANDEL. Just a moment, now. I assume, Congressman Walter, that your command "turn around" is your way of asking a question.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not any command. I just thought I would refresh your recollection or assist you because the man was standing here and moved. Proceed, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. KANDEL. I wonder if you would mind—

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that you, the chairman, direct an order to the witness to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. I direct you to answer that question.

Mr. KANDEL. My name is Irving Kandel. I live in the nine hundred block, Brooks Lane.

Now, you ask me my occupation. I wonder what relevancy this question has to the ostensible purpose of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer the question because I believe this question violates my rights under the first amendment, and further, I claim my privilege under the fifth amendment not to be a witness against myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you honestly feel that if you answered the question as to your occupation you might incriminate yourself?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. KANDEL. It might.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. KANDEL. Can we get this out of the way because I find this just a bit disturbing? I don't mind the pictures being taken.

Mr. ARENS. Are you appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. KANDEL. I received the subpoena served by two men.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. KANDEL. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you kindly identify yourself on this record?

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer, Washington, D. C.

Mr. ARENS. You work at the Fisher Brush Machinery Co. in Baltimore, do you not?

Mr. KANDEL. I have already refused to answer a question of that kind. I still refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact that you work at the Fisher Brush Machinery Co. in Baltimore, and I ask you now to confirm or deny that fact.

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend that, if you told this committee truthfully while you are under oath whether or not you worked at Fisher Brush Machinery Co. in Baltimore, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. KANDEL. It might.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Clifford Miller?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously given.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Irene Barkaga?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously given.

Mr. ARENS. Both of these persons in the course of the last day or so—Mr. Miller yesterday, and Miss Barkaga today—took an oath and identified you as a member of the Communist conspiratorial apparatus in this community. Were they telling the truth?

Mr. KANDEL. Now, of course, I don't know what they said.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question or to invoke his rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. KANDEL. I would like an explanation in order to clarify the question. What do you mean by those sinister words, Communist conspiracy?

The CHAIRMAN. Let us clear this up. Were you here yesterday?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. KANDEL. No; I wasn't here yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you here all morning?

Mr. KANDEL. I responded to a subpoena which was served upon me, which called on me to be here at 10 a. m., and I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear the young lady sitting over there in this chair to your left testify this morning?

Mr. KANDEL. Well, I was here. I would not, under oath, say that I listened attentively to every single word that this person gave here, I was here, though.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I will give you in a word what her testimony was. She testified to the effect that you were a Communist. Was she correct?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously given.

Mr. ARENS. You have told us your name is Irving Kandel. How do you spell that, please?

Mr. KANDEL. I spell it I-r-v-i-n-g.

Mr. ARENS. And your last name?

Mr. KANDEL. K-a-n-d-e-l.

Mr. ARENS. Is that the only name you have ever used in your life?

Mr. KANDEL. To what other name do you make reference?

Mr. ARENS. Have you used any name other than the name Irving Kandel?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously given.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever used the name Henry Ross?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds given.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a member of a labor organization?

Mr. KANDEL. I don't know what connection this question has with the ostensible purpose of this committee. I don't know what legislation would be forthcoming. If I belonged, or do not belong, to any organization.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer on the ground previously given.

The CHAIRMAN. That means that the answer might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. KANDEL. It might.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. KANDEL. In the United States in 1912.

Mr. ARENS. What State?

Mr. KANDEL. New York.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word about your education.

Mr. KANDEL. In a word?

The CHAIRMAN. As many words as you need.

Mr. KANDEL. I will be glad to. I started out by going to grammar school, graduated, proceeded from there to junior high school. I went through junior high school. It may well be that after that I took one or two additional courses, but I can't remember exactly the consequences.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you take the courses? We are not concerned with the consequences. We are merely asking you whether or not you took the courses.

Mr. KANDEL. The consequences I referred to, do with successfully completing the course.

Mr. ARENS. When did you last engage in your formal study?

Mr. KANDEL. Well, a man should never stop studying.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly tell us when it was you last were engaged in formal study in an institution.

Mr. KANDEL. I assume by that you mean a school of some kind?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. KANDEL. Well, it might be in 1943.

Mr. ARENS. What school was that, please, sir?

Mr. KANDEL. I believe it was a Navy school. As I remember, it was a school run by the man by the name of Henry Ford for his company and utilized by the United States Navy.

Mr. ARENS. Were you then a member of the United States Navy?

Mr. KANDEL. A member? I was enlisted. I was recruited, drafted.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us, please, sir, the period of your service in the Navy?

Mr. KANDEL. To the best of my knowledge and belief, it was sometime during the war, 1943, 1944, 1945 perhaps.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you serve in the Navy?

Mr. KANDEL. I served wherever they sent me.

Mr. ARENS. Where did they send you?

Mr. KANDEL. They first sent me to boot camp. As I remember, this place was in the neighborhood of Sampson, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. Proceed, if you please, sir, and tell us other places where you served in the Navy.

Mr. KANDEL. If my memory does not fail me, I believe I went from there by way of Canada to Dearborn, Mich.; and from that point, to the best of my knowledge and belief, I was transferred to Norfolk, Va., I believe it is—and from there to San Francisco. From there to the Eniwetok group. Well, that was in the Pacific, and it is hard to say when you are in the Pacific exactly where you are.

Mr. ARENS. Was all of the period of your active service aboard vessels in the Pacific?

Mr. KANDEL. Well, my whole period of service was active.

Mr. ARENS. Was your entire period of service aboard vessels in the Pacific?

Mr. KANDEL. No.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us then where else you served.

Mr. KANDEL. If I remember the name of the place. I believe it was called Tokyo Bay.

Mr. ARENS. Was the entire period of your service aboard vessels in the Navy in the Pacific area?

Mr. KANDEL. What area do you have in mind when you say Pacific area?

Mr. ARENS. Did you serve in the Atlantic?

Mr. KANDEL. No.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you, sir. Did you receive a commission in the Navy?

Mr. KANDEL. To do what?

Mr. ARENS. A commission as a commissioned officer?

Mr. KANDEL. I was an officer. I was a noncommissioned officer.

Mr. ARENS. What was your rank?

The CHAIRMAN. Rating.

Mr. ARENS. Your rating?

The CHAIRMAN. We want to keep this absolutely accurate.

Mr. KANDEL. Splendid idea. Accuracy in this committee would be a welcome event. I was a machinist mate, repair, third class.

Mr. ARENS. And to complete the picture and to be accurate about it all, were you a member of the Communist Party while you were in the Navy?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Did you receive an honorable discharge from the Navy?

Mr. KANDEL. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. When was that, please, sir?

Mr. KANDEL. At the end of my service.

Mr. ARENS. What year was that?

Mr. KANDEL. To the best of my recollection, it was around that period of 1946, perhaps.

Mr. ARENS. What was your first principal employment after the discharge which you received from the Navy during this period around 1946?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. And how long did that employment last?

Mr. KANDEL. To what employment do you make reference?

Mr. ARENS. The employment that you had immediately after your discharge from the Navy.

Mr. KANDEL. Have you established that I have employment?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be directed to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. I direct you to answer the question with regard to the employment you do not see fit to talk about. How long did you continue in the employment that you will not talk about?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Have you had any employment since your discharge from the United States Navy until the present time, concerning which you can tell this committee without disclosing any information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. KANDEL. I don't understand the question.

Mr. ARENS. I will say it again.

Mr. KANDEL. Please say it in an understandable way.

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon?

Mr. KANDEL. I say, will you please state the question in an understandable way? My point is that I don't see any sense in repeating the same question that I didn't understand in the first place.

Mr. ARENS. Have you had any employment since your discharge from the United States Navy until the present time that you can tell us about without giving facts which, in your estimation, might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. KANDEL. Well, I think it would be less difficult if you proceeded one by one; and in that way I could examine each particular case on its merit rather than making a blanket statement covering a period of many years.

Mr. ARENS. Do you now understand the question?

Mr. KANDEL. I am not sure, but I am trying to indicate a way of approaching this matter which would make more sense.

Mr. ARENS. How long did your first employment last after your discharge from the United States Navy?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Now, what was your next employment after your first employment?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. And what was your next employment?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that previous question on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. And what was your next employment?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. And your next employment?

Mr. KANDEL. Have you kept a record? I think I have lost count there.

Mr. ARENS. Let us say there are six. We will assume there are six.

Mr. KANDEL. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir, did you have another employment? Did you have a seventh employment?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Maybe I could clarify the situation.

Mr. KANDEL. I wish you would, Congressman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I will endeavor to, with one simple little question:

Have you ever done anything since you were discharged from the Navy except work for the Communist Party?

Mr. KANDEL. That is about the simplest question I have heard in a long time.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, it is very simple.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. KANDEL. You see, there is a premise in your question, simple though it may be. The premise is that I worked for the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, have you?

Mr. KANDEL. Now, you are asking that as a question, have I worked for the Communist Party?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you see, we have clarified the entire situation. Go ahead, Mr. Arens.

Mr. KANDEL. Well, to the extent it can be clarified, perhaps it has been.

Mr. ARENS. I want to display to you a copy of the Communist New York Daily Worker, Monday, November 1, 1948, "The Heroes of Yesterday Speak Up Today!" World War II veterans demand dismissal of indictments of the Smith Act defendants.

It is a letter addressed to the then President of the United States and to the then Attorney General of the United States urging the dismissal of the indictments against the 12 Communist leaders.

Kindly look at that, if you please, sir.

Mr. KANDEL. As soon as my eyes recover their normalcy, I will be glad to.

Mr. ARENS. You will see on that particular document——

Mr. KANDEL. If I read it, I am sure I will see it.

Mr. ARENS. You will see, if you please, sir, on that document a list of names of persons who are dispatching that letter, including the name of Irving Kandel. Kindly help us, if you please, by verifying the authenticity of that document and certifying the participation by yourself in that enterprise.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. KANDEL. I am sorry, I was reading or trying to read. I really can't. This is a poor—now, would you mind, Mr. Arens, repeating your question?

Mr. ARENS. Yes; does that refresh your recollection with reference to your participation in that enterprise?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest this document be appropriately marked and incorporated by reference in this record.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be so marked and incorporated.

(The document previously designated "Wood Exhibit No. 1," retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you a member of a labor organization?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will recess until 1:30. The witness will continue under subpoena.

(Thereupon, at 12:30 p. m., Wednesday, May 8, 1957, the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 1:30 p. m., same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—WEDNESDAY, MAY 8, 1957

The committee reconvened at 1:30 p. m., upon the expiration of the recess.

The CHAIRMAN. The hearing will come to order.

During the recess the president of local 2610 has delivered to me a statement concerning the attitude of the union on these fifth-amendment witnesses and the procedures that will be employed by the union in order to make a complete investigation to determine whether or not the people are no longer eligible for membership in the union.

I hope that those employers in heavy industry will learn something from the action taken by the union and also make an inquiry into the eligibility of employees for work in sensitive positions, particularly in view of the fact that much of the work done in this area has to do with national defense.

The statement reads as follows:

The constitution of the International Union of the United Steelworkers of America says no person shall be eligible for membership or hold any office in the international or local union who is a member, consistent supporter, or who actively participates in the activities of the Communist Party.

In view of the recent developments disclosed by the House committee's hearings in Baltimore on un-American activities, I am immediately appointing a committee to investigate and prepare charges where there are indications our constitution is violated. I also intend to instruct my committee to meet with Clifford Miller who is a member of my local to determine the extent of Com-

munist infiltration in my organization so that proper safeguards can be taken and the general ranks and file can be advised of any infiltration. The committee will also be instructed to determine if the AFL-CIO Code of Ethics have been violated by members of my local using the fifth amendment.

There is no room in my organization for men who have an allegiance or sympathy with a government that is inimical to the best interest of the United States Government.

JOHN E. RUKE,

President, Local 2610, United States of America, AFL-CIO.

Will you call your witness, please.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Kandel, will you kindly resume the witness stand.

TESTIMONY OF IRVING KANDEL—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Kandel, how long have you lived at your present residence?

Mr. KANDEL. Roughly about a year, give or take a month or 2 months.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us the exact street address, please, sir?

Mr. KANDEL. 932 Brooks Lane.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you live immediately prior to the time that you lived at 932 Brooks Lane?

Mr. KANDEL. I don't see where this question is relevant to the ostensible purpose of this committee.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that you direct and order the witness to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

Mr. KANDEL. Prior to my living at 932 Brooks Lane, I lived at 2400 Linden Avenue.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you live there, please, sir?

Mr. KANDEL. Now, what connection does this question have—

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. KANDEL. Well, roughly as a guess, maybe 18 months.

Mr. ARENS. Then tell us where you lived prior to the time you lived at that place.

Mr. KANDEL. Will I?

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon?

Mr. KANDEL. I say, will I?

Mr. ARENS. If you please, sir.

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Do I understand you to contend that, if you would answer the question as to where you lived, you are fearful you would be prosecuted criminally?

Mr. KANDEL. I did answer the question where I lived.

Mr. ARENS. Let the record be clear. You lived at 932 Brooks Lane as of what period?

Mr. KANDEL. Now.

Mr. ARENS. And you told us where you lived immediately prior to the time you lived at 932 Brooks Lane; is that correct?

Mr. KANDEL. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. But you will not tell us where you lived prior to the time, the second preceding time; is that correct? Where did you live in 1952 and 1953?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel if you told this committee truthfully where you lived in 1952 and 1953, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. KANDEL. Well, if I feel anything, Mr. Arens, I feel that honestly I don't know what purpose you have in making excessive use of this word "honestly." Have I any reason to believe that my answers have not been honest or that my feelings have not been honest?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness now on the stand be directed to answer the outstanding question.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness will answer.

Mr. KANDEL. It is possible.

Mr. ARENS. Did you in 1952 and 1953 live at 940 North Broadway, Baltimore?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever live at 940 North Broadway, at any time?

Mr. KANDEL. You have no particular time in mind in your question, as distinguished from the previous question?

The CHAIRMAN. At any time from this moment to the date of your birth, have you ever lived at that address?

Mr. KANDEL. Congressman, that is a long, long time.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, answer the question.

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. I put it as a fact, sir, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that during 1952 and 1953, in an underground operation of the Communist conspiracy, you lived at 940 North Broadway under the alias of Henry Ross. If that is not the fact, you deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. KANDEL. You say you state that as a fact? Do you have some supporting evidence?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. You have told us previously about your education. I would like you to tell us about any tutoring you have done. Will you tell us if, in the course of the last few years, you have been an instructor in any type of classes?

Mr. KANDEL. What type of class do you have in mind?

Mr. ARENS. Any type of classes.

Mr. KANDEL. Your question is so broad and general that it becomes almost impossible. A casual conversation might be considered by some as a class, or any kind of conversation might be considered tutoring.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever taught in a Communist school?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Mr. and Mrs. Sam Schmerler? S-c-h-m-e-r-l-e-r?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. You taught Communist Party classes in their home, did you not?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Did you succeed George Meyers as head of the Communist Party in District 4 while Meyers was in the penitentiary?

Mr. KANDEL. It seems to me that that is a loaded question. You contain in it a statement, a number of premises which have not been established to my knowledge.

Mr. McINTOSH. Would you care to deny the premises, sir? Would you care to deny, under oath, the premises which you suggest are in the question?

Mr. KANDEL. I don't care to; no.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that this record reflect an order to the witness to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that concludes the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused.

Mr. ARENS. Will William Johnson please come forward.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand, please.

Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM S. JOHNSON, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. JOHNSON. William S. Johnson, 500 block of Twenty-fourth Street Northeast, Washington, D. C. Occupation, cook.

Mr. ARENS. Where, please?

Mr. JOHNSON. At Cy's Restaurant in Silver Spring.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. JOHNSON. Are you asking that question?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. JOHNSON. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you kindly identify yourself on the record?

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer, Washington, D. C.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any occupation other than the occupation as a cook which you have just announced to the committee?

Mr. JOHNSON. Let us see. When you say any other occupation, I imagine you are referring to other things I have done: is that right?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON. I am a waiter, as well as a cook. That has been the principal occupation that I have followed over a number of years,

either waiting, in the form of waiting on table, or director of service or cook.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed in this type of work in the Washington, D. C., area?

Mr. JOHNSON. For the past 30 years.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of this employment, have you had an office or post of responsibility in a labor organization?

Mr. JOHNSON. I did.

Mr. ARENS. What organization was that?

Mr. JOHNSON. The hotel and restaurant employees, I was business manager.

Mr. ARENS. What post did you hold?

Mr. JOHNSON. Business manager.

Mr. ARENS. And over what period of time?

Mr. JOHNSON. Over a period of 10 years.

Mr. ARENS. When were those 10 years?

Mr. JOHNSON. From 1939 until 1949.

Mr. ARENS. Did you also hold the post of business agent of AFL local 209, Cooks, Pastry Cooks and Kitchen Employees' Union?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is the one I just referred to.

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon. I was under the impression you referred to another one. Is that the only office you have held in a labor organization?

Mr. JOHNSON. I was subsequently an assistant organizer and business agent for the waiters' branch of the same general organization.

Mr. ARENS. When was that and where were you located?

Mr. JOHNSON. That was actually in 1939, but the organization I referred to as being one general organization, it was divided, that is, the cooks and waiters all were one and it was divided in 1941. That is the cooks were separated. So the answer I give relative to 1939 covered this period of being an organizer and assistant business agent in 1939 in the said organization.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know, or have you ever known, a person by the name of Mary Markward, M-a-r-k-w-a-r-d?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer the question on the basis of my rights under the first amendment and my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mary Stalcup Markward took an oath before this committee in 1954. In the course of her testimony, she identified you as a person known by her to have been a member of the Communist Party. Was Mary Markward in error?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer the question for the same reason.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person, or have you known a person, by the name of Henry Thomas?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer the question for the same reason previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Thomas likewise testified under oath before this committee that he knew you as a member of the Communist Party. Do you care, while you are under oath, to deny his assertion?

Mr. JOHNSON. No, I don't care to deny it.

Mr. ARENS. Was Mr. Thomas in error, or was he accurate, in his designation of you as a person known by him to be a Communist?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer the question for the same reasons stated previously.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know, or have you known, a person by the name of Dorothy Funn, F-u-n-n?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer the question for the same reasons previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Dorothy Funn took an oath before this committee and identified you as a member of the Communist Party. Was she in error, or was she accurate, in her description of you?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason stated previously.

Mr. ARENS. My associate on the staff, Mr. Williams, is going to display to you certain documents. The first document we have is an article in the Communist Worker of Sunday, August 29, 1948, "The First Line of Defense," Statement by Negro Americans to the President and Attorney General of the United States, protesting the activities of the Committee on Un-American Activities to frighten people, to intimidate progressive organizations and the like.

That statement of protest is signed by a number of people, including, according to the article, William S. Johnson. Kindly look at that article and tell this committee, while you are under oath, whether or not that refreshes your recollection and whether or not you consciously lent your name to the endorsement of that statement.

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer the question for the same reasons stated previously.

(Document marked "Johnson Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. We are going to display to you, if you please, from the Washington Post of May 18, 1948, an advertisement attacking the Mandt bill then pending in the House of Representatives. The bill which subsequently became the Internal Security Act of 1950. This protest which appeared in the Washington Post is signed by a number of people. It urges the reader to write their Congressmen to defeat this legislation.

Among those whose names appear here as sponsors of this advertisement is William S. Johnson. Kindly look at that document as Mr. Williams displays it to you, and tell this committee whether or not you consciously lent your name to that enterprise.

Mr. JOHNSON. Having recollection of that document, looking over a number of organizations, I recall that there was a type of repressive legislation promoted at that time; and I, along with several others, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, did sign such a document.

(Document marked "Johnson Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you a member of the NAACP?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. JOHNSON. I don't see where a question like that is pertinent to this type of hearing. However, I am a member.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been a member of that organization?

Mr. JOHNSON. Some thirty-odd years.

Mr. ARENS. Do you hold, or have you held, an office of responsibility in the organization?

Mr. JOHNSON. I consider this type of questioning—what does this have to do with the hearing?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. FORER. Will you repeat the question for the benefit of the chairman? Do you recall what the question is, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, I recall very well.

Mr. FORER. The witness is directed to answer how long has he been a member of the NAACP?

Mr. ARENS. The question is have you ever held an office or post of responsibility in the NAACP?

Mr. JOHNSON. No.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been a member of the NAACP?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is the same question you just asked. I told you around 30 years.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the two documents which were displayed to the witness be appropriately marked and incorporated by reference in this record.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be done.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know the man who preceded you to the witness stand?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer the question for the same reasons stated previously.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know the man who preceded him, George Meyers?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer the question for the same reasons stated previously.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us the names of the organizations to which you currently belong. You have told us about the NAACP. Are there any other organizations you belong to now?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer the question for the same reasons stated previously.

Mr. ARENS. Meyers, who preceded you to the witness stand, is your Communist Party boss, is he not?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer the question for the same reasons.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you are presently the leader of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia.

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer the question for the same reasons stated previously.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mr. JOHNSON. South Carolina.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. JOHNSON. June 27, 1901.

Mr. ARENS. How much education have you had, please?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, by the time I was 5 years old until I reached 13 or 14, I went to the log cabin schools up in the Sand Hills from the Congaree River and entered Columbia in my early boyhood days. I went to Benedict College at Columbia 9 years. Came to Washington in 1926 and had some college work at Howard University.

Mr. ARENS. Did you receive a degree at Howard University?

Mr. JOHNSON. I did not.

Mr. ARENS. When did you complete the work that you did at Howard University?

Mr. JOHNSON. I went to Howard University part of 1926, part of 1927, and part of 1928.

Mr. ARENS. What type of course or courses did you take there?

Mr. JOHNSON. The school of liberal arts.

Mr. ARENS. What was your first principal employment after you completed the work you did do at Howard University?

Mr. JOHNSON. I imagine you mean steady employment?

Mr. ARENS. That is right.

Mr. JOHNSON. I worked at the Continental Hotel from about 1929, or thereabouts, as a waiter—as a special waiter, as a banquet waiter, and subsequently as a headwaiter.

Mr. ARENS. And your next employment, please?

Mr. JOHNSON. My next employment was with the union.

Mr. ARENS. What union—

Mr. JOHNSON. Correction. The next employment after the Continental was at the Hamilton Hotel.

Mr. ARENS. Then was your next employment with the union?

Mr. JOHNSON. The union.

Mr. ARENS. What year did that begin?

Mr. JOHNSON. 1939 or about that time. It might have been early 1940.

Mr. ARENS. Who employed you at the union?

Mr. JOHNSON. Who employed me?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHNSON. I was elected by the membership.

Mr. ARENS. Who was your immediate supervisor in the union?

Mr. JOHNSON. I didn't have any immediate supervisor.

Mr. ARENS. To whom did you report?

Mr. JOHNSON. To the membership.

Mr. ARENS. Was the local to which you were attached connected with an international?

Mr. JOHNSON. It was.

Mr. ARENS. Who was head of the international?

Mr. JOHNSON. At that time, Edward Florey.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you engaged by the union?

Mr. JOHNSON. Ten years.

Mr. ARENS. What caused your disassociation from the union?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons stated previously.

Mr. ARENS. Was your disassociation voluntary?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons stated previously.

Mr. ARENS. Were you fired from the union?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons stated previously.

Mr. ARENS. Was your employment with the union caused, directly or indirectly to your knowledge, by a person known by you to be a Communist?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist while you were employed by the union?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason stated previously.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately after your disassociation from the union?

Mr. JOHNSON. I beg your pardon, don't go so fast.

Mr. ARENS. What was your next employment immediately after your disassociation from the union?

Mr. JOHNSON. I worked a few places—a day here and a day there. I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. What was your principal employment?

Mr. JOHNSON. My principal employment was the present job.

Mr. ARENS. Do you, in addition to your present job, have an extra-curricular employment?

Mr. JOHNSON. Extracurricular, what do you mean?

Mr. ARENS. Outside employment.

Mr. JOHNSON. I don't have any outside employment.

Mr. ARENS. Are you district director of the Communist party of the District of Columbia?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons stated previously.

Mr. ARENS. This Committee on Un-American Activities is here, as it is and will be in other places, for the purpose of developing facts respecting the security of this country and the operation of the Communist conspiracy. Do you presently have information about the Communist Party activities at the seat of the Nation's Capital in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. JOHNSON. That question is a little long. I would like you to restate the question.

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently have information respecting the operation of the Communist Party at the seat of the Nation's Capital at Washington, D. C.?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons stated previously.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend the Communist Party National Convention in New York City in February?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason stated previously.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever traveled outside of continental United States?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. JOHNSON. Some years ago when I was a boy in school, I had a pleasant trip across Canada. Outside of that, I have never been outside the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever applied for a United States passport?

Mr. JOHNSON. No.

Mr. ARENS. If this committee should initiate proceedings under the Immunity Act, whereby you would be granted immunity from criminal prosecution based upon any information you would supply to this committee, would you avail yourself of that opportunity and testify fully and freely without reservation on all matters within the jurisdiction of this committee?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. JOHNSON. I do not consider this Committee on Un-American Activities a duly constitutional committee under the first and fifth amendments; and if I were granted immunity, I would not cooperate with this committee under duress. Further, I feel, like the Mundt

law, there is serious question and serious doubts as to the constitutionality of that act.

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently know of persons employed in the Government of the United States, the seat of the Nation's Capital, in Washington, who to your certain knowledge are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons stated previously.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that concludes the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions?

The witness is excused.

Mr. ARENS. Will Claire Friedman Round come forward?

Mr. Chairman, there may be some question as to whether or not she was scheduled to appear today or tomorrow. Therefore, I respectfully suggest we call another witness at this time.

Jeanette Fino.

Please remain standing while the chairman administers the oath.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. FINO. I do.

Mr. BIENER. Mrs. Fino would like to have her testimony not televised.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. JEANETTE FINO, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, KARL BIENER

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mrs. FINO. My name is Jeanette Fino. I live at 3105 Mondawmin Avenue, Baltimore. As of last Friday I worked as a waitress.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mrs. FINO. I am.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mrs. FINO. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you kindly identify yourself on the record.

Mr. BIENER. Karl Biener. B-i-e-n-e-r, member of the Baltimore bar.

Mr. ARENS. Are you Mrs. or Miss?

Mrs. FINO. Mrs.

Mr. ARENS. For the purpose of identification, are you the wife of Benjamin Fino?

Mrs. FINO. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you last employed?

Mrs. FINO. As of last Friday, I was still employed. After today, I don't know whether I will still be employed. To my knowledge, at the present time I am still employed by the Sunray Drug Co.

Mr. ARENS. In Baltimore?

Mrs. FINO. In Baltimore.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed by that establishment?

Mrs. FINO. I have been working as a part-time waitress for, I would say, about the last 2 months.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment, if any, immediately preceding your present employment?

Mrs. FINO. I was a housewife before that. Then I worked as a part-time waitress—no, wait a minute. I worked as an office worker for the J. & J. Messer Co., a wholesale plumbing house.

Mr. ARENS. Here in the Baltimore area?

Mrs. FINO. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What employment preceded that, please?

Mrs. FINO. I was a part-time waitress at the Shuster Delicatessen in Baltimore.

Mr. ARENS. What employment preceded that?

Mrs. FINO. I was a waitress at Horn & Horn, Inc.

Mr. ARENS. What employment preceded that, please?

Mrs. FINO. I worked as a part-time waitress at Dow Restaurant in Baltimore.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever work for the United States Government?

Mrs. FINO. Yes, I did.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when?

Mrs. FINO. The Navy Department, in Arlington, Va., from March 1942 to about May 1944.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity?

Mrs. FINO. I took a civil-service examination for a file clerk.

Mr. ARENS. Did you work as a file clerk?

Mrs. FINO. Immediately when I was hired, I worked as a file clerk. When my supervisor found I could type, I did statistical typing.

Mr. ARENS. During any of the period of your service for the United States Navy Department, did you at any time have access to restricted or confidential information?

Mrs. FINO. I think most of the papers that passed the desk were classified.

Mr. ARENS. During the period of your service with the United States Navy Department, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. FINO. I claim my privilege under the fifth amendment. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, at any time during the period of your service with the United States Navy Department, transmit, or cause to be transmitted, to any person not authorized to receive the same, confidential, classified, or restricted information?

Mrs. FINO. I did not, unless the last time I was before the committee when I spoke about my job. If that was considered to be an unauthorized source, then that was it.

Mr. ARENS. Were you under the Communist Party discipline at the time you worked for the United States Government?

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question on the previous grounds stated.

Mr. ARENS. Was your disassociation from the United States Navy Department wholly voluntary?

Mrs. FINO. It was.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not you were the subject of a loyalty investigation?

Mrs. FINO. I do not know. The Navy Department never came to me about it.

Mr. ARENS. Are you connected with the Baltimore Freedom of the Press Committee?

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to display to you certain documents and see if you won't help this committee here today.

The first document is the photostatic reproduction of an application for a post office box for the Baltimore Freedom of the Press Committee. The applicant's signature here as chairman is Mrs. James K. Fino.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. FINO. I believe you read the name wrong as it appears here, but I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon. Kindly look at that document and tell this committee whether or not you executed the original of that document.

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Well, accommodate me if you please, and tell me how I read it wrong?

Mrs. FINO. You pronounced it incorrectly.

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon. It is Jeanette Fino. Did you execute that document?

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to ask if you could also accommodate us by verifying the authenticity of a signature of Mrs. Jeanette K. Fino, appearing on this photostatic reproduction of a verification of reference of applicant for post office box for the Baltimore Freedom of the Press Committee. Please look at this and see if you will accommodate this committee by verifying the authenticity of that document and the authenticity of the signature appearing there.

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons previously stated.

(Documents marked "Jeanette K. Fino Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Without undertaking to impose myself on you too long, you will observe in this first document I displayed to you, the name of Mary Roberts is listed by yourself in the document as a reference for your integrity and reliability. Do you know Mary Roberts?

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Mary Roberts to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Would you accommodate the committee please, by telling us what is an organization known as the F. & D. Printing Co.? Is there such an organization?

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons previously stated.

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Mr. ARENS. I should like to display to you now, if you please, a series of photostatic copies of checks made payable to the F. & D. Printing Co. in various amounts, drawn on the Fidelity-Baltimore National Bank & Trust Co., Baltimore, Md., all signed by Jeanette Fino. Will you kindly look at those, as I display them to you, and see if you will be good enough to verify the authenticity of those documents? Would you help us on that, please?

Mrs. FINO. What was the question, please?

Mr. ARENS. Would you verify the authenticity of these checks drawn by yourself, payable to the F. & D. Printing Co.?

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons previously stated.

(Documents marked "Jeanette K. Fino Exhibit No. 2," follow:)

JEANETTE K. FINO EXHIBIT NO. 2

7-16 520		No. 227
BALTIMORE, MD.		February 19 1956
PAY TO THE ORDER OF	F & D Printing Co.	\$ 23.50
Twenty Three and 50/100		DOLLARS
25.714	FEB 26 57	23.50 - 2.20 =
FIDELITY-BALTIMORE NATIONAL BANK & TRUST COMPANY BALTIMORE, MARYLAND		Jeanette Fino

7-16 520		No. 209
BALTIMORE, MD.		May 13 1956
PAY TO THE ORDER OF	F & D Printing Co.	\$ 65.00
Sixty Five		DOLLARS
74.00 +	MAY 21 56	65.00 - 9.00 =
FIDELITY-BALTIMORE NATIONAL BANK & TRUST COMPANY BALTIMORE, MARYLAND		Jeanette Fino

7-16
528

No. 226

BALTIMORE, MD. February 1 1957

PAY TO THE ORDER OF F. & D. Printing Company \$ 31 ⁰⁰/₁₀₀

Thirty-one ⁰⁰/₁₀₀ DOLLARS

34.70+ FEB 11 57 31.00+ 3.70+

FIDELITY-BALTIMORE NATIONAL BANK
& TRUST COMPANY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Jeanette Fino

7-16
528

No. 228

BALTIMORE, MD. March 3 1957

PAY TO THE ORDER OF F. & D. Printing Company \$ 21 ⁰⁰/₁₀₀

Twenty-one ⁰⁰/₁₀₀ DOLLARS

21.00+ FEB 7 57 21.00+ .00+

FIDELITY-BALTIMORE NATIONAL BANK
& TRUST COMPANY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Jeanette Fino

Mr. ARENS. Now, the F. & D. Printing Co. is the company which prints the Daily Worker in New York; isn't that correct?

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Who endorsed the checks?

Mr. ARENS. F. & D. Printing Co. It is a stamped endorsement.

I would like to display to you, please, two other documents which are ledger sheets for the account of Jeanette Fino, Baltimore, Md., 2736 Reisterstown Road and 3105 Mondawmin Avenue. Kindly look at those documents, if you please, and tell us if you will accommodate us by verifying their authenticity.

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason previously stated.

(Documents marked "Jeanette K. Fino Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Arens, what are the dates on those checks?

Mr. ARENS. At the moment they are not offered, but they are May 13, 1956; March 3, 1957; February 1, 1957, and February 19, 1956.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they purport to be remittances of the Daily Worker this year in Baltimore?

Mr. ARENS. They are remittances paid to the F. & D. Printing Co., which is the printing company which prints the Communist Daily Worker in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps this will answer the question which has been in my mind ever since I read recently that the Daily Worker said it would have gone out of business if it had not been for the contributions that came from around the country.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to lay before you, if you please, a copy of an article appearing in the New York Times of March 28, 1956, alluding to the Communist Daily Worker in the community of New York City. In the course of this article the following appears. I will invite your attention to this specific language, if you please:

The Worker's editorial staff moved down to the seventh floor of the building that is occupied by a job-printing concern, the F. & D. Publishing Co., Inc., which prints the Worker.

Is that statement appearing in the New York Times, stating that the F. & D. Publishing Co. does the printing of the Worker, truthful, accurate, and correct, to your knowledge?

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons previously stated.

(Document marked "Jeanette K. Fino Exhibit No. 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that each of these various exhibits which I have displayed to the witness be appropriately marked and reproduced or incorporated by reference in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

Mr. ARENS. Did you procure copies of the Daily Worker from the F. & D. Printing Co. for the purpose of causing them to be circulated or distributed under the auspices of the Baltimore Freedom of the Press Committee in the Baltimore area?

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us about an organization—is there to your knowledge, such an organization as the Committee for the Benefit of Screened Seamen?

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. What meetings have you held in your home in the course of the last 2 or 3 years? Meetings other than just social gatherings.

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact that your home is the central meeting place of the leadership of the so-called Committee of Screened Seamen, consisting of persons who have been screened off on security grounds from United States vessels. If that is not a fact, please deny it while you are under oath.

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Are you active in the Labor Youth League?

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know the man who preceded you to the witness stand, William S. Johnson?

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know the man who preceded him to the witness stand, Irving Kandel?

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. And do you know the person who preceded him to the witness stand, George Meyers?

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. We have testimony which has been given in the last day or so during our hearings that your home has been used as a center for instruction and that among the instructors was one Irving Kandel. Please accommodate this committee of the Government of the United States by telling us whether or not that testimony was true.

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons previously stated. Pardon me. I don't think I gave a full answer on the 3 or 4 previous questions.

Mr. ARENS. You desire to invoke the provisions of the fifth amendment on each?

Mrs. FINO. That is right. Thank you.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel, if you told us truthfully the answer to each of those three preceding principal questions, you would be giving information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mrs. FINO. It might.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Miller, would you stand up, please. Mrs. Fino, this gentleman, to your left and to my right, testified yesterday that, while he was an undercover agent for the security agencies of this Government in the Communist conspiracy, he knew you as a Communist. We want to give you an opportunity now, while you are under oath, to deny it. Do you care to avail yourself of that opportunity?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons previously stated. Excuse me a moment.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. FINO. I would just like to state for the record, I don't know whether there is another Jeanette Fino that was described as tall and slender in 1948. This Jeanette Fino may have been tall, but I weighed 175 pounds at the time.

Mr. ARENS. Let us get the record clear.

Mrs. FINO. I weighed 175 pounds. If that is slender, well, thank you.

Mr. ARENS. Believe me, we would deplore a situation of false identification. Will this gentleman kindly stand again.

Mr. Miller said he knew you as a Communist. Was he mistaken? Was he in error or was he telling the truth?

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. During the period of your service in the United States Navy Department, you told us you had access to confidential restricted information.

Mrs. FINO. I said I thought it was classified.

Mr. ARENS. Classified information. Did you have access to the personnel transfer records?

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question on the same reasons previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question as to whether or not she had access to the personnel transfer records?

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer that question.

Mrs. FINO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have access to the records of those men who were separated from employment because they were not cleared securitywise?

Mrs. FINO. I don't understand the question, Mr. Walter.

The CHAIRMAN. I am thinking now in terms of this organization of men who lost their jobs because they were security risks. Did you have access to the information on merchant seamen who lost their jobs because they were security risks?

Mrs. FINO. I worked for the Navy Department, sir, for the Bureau of Naval Officer Personnel.

Mr. ARENS. Let us get the record clear as to the type of information to which you had access. I do not want you in a public session to disclose the information, but I want to ask you this so there will be no question on this record:

Did you have access to the information in the possession of the United States Navy during the period of your service with the Navy Department as to who was being transferred where?

(The witness consulted with her counsel.)

Mrs. FINO. I would like a point of clarification. I would like to say the unit for the Navy I worked for did a strictly statistical job of computing the cost of officer travel for their estimate for the budget each year. That was the purpose of the unit.

Mr. ARENS. In the process of computing the cost of transferring people, did you have access to the information as to who was being transferred where?

Mrs. FINO. After the transfer took place.

Mr. ARENS. You had the information, however?

Mrs. FINO. After the transfer took place.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that concludes the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused. Call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Will Mary Roberts kindly come forward.

Mr. BUCHMAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to request that the television cameras be removed for this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. That request will be complied with.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly stand while the chairman administers an oath to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. MARY ROBERTS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HAROLD BUCHMAN

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mrs. ROBERTS. My name is Mary Roberts.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be convenient for you to raise your voice, please?

Mrs. ROBERTS. My name is Mary Roberts. I live at 3800 West Garrison Avenue. I am a housewife.

Mr. ARENS. I wonder if I could ask you again to raise your voice. The acoustics are not too good. Would you repeat your answer, please?

Mrs. ROBERTS. The name is Mary Roberts.

Mr. ARENS. Is it Miss or Mrs.?

Mrs. ROBERTS. Mrs. The address is 3800 Garrison Avenue, Baltimore. I am a housewife.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today, Mrs. Roberts, in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mrs. ROBERTS. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mrs. ROBERTS. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you identify yourself on the record?

Mr. BUCHMAN. Harold Buchman, Baltimore Bar.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know the lady who preceded you to the witness stand?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. ROBERTS. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment which provides that I do not have to be a witness against myself.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to display to you, if you please, two documents. The first is a thermofax reproduction of a verification of reference of an applicant for a post office box in which your name, Mrs. Mary Roberts, appears, and on which, in your handwriting, appears a statement that the applicant, Mrs. Fino, is a responsible party who has applied, according to this document, for a post office box for the Baltimore Freedom of the Press Committee.

Kindly look at that document, if you please, and see if you will be good enough to verify the authenticity of it.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. ROBERTS. I am a slow reader. If you have time—I have taken the day off so I have time. Now, that was an awfully long question.

Mrs. ARENS. Let us take it little by little. Is this your signature on this document in which you say that Mrs. Fino is a responsible party, or something to that effect?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds as previously stated.

(Document marked "Roberts Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I should like to display to you a photostatic reproduction of an application for post office box for a Committee To Defeat the Smith Act. The date is August 25, 1952. The signature of the applicant for the post office box of the Committee To Defeat the Smith Act is Mary Roberts.

Kindly look at this document and see if you will verify the authenticity of that document and of your signature appearing on it.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

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Mrs. ROBERTS. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Roberts Exhibit No. 2" follows:)

ROBERTS EXHIBIT NO. 2

Form 1092a
(Rev. 9-42)

APPLICATION FOR POST-OFFICE BOX

AUG 25 1952

(Date)

The undersigned hereby applies for the use of a box in the post office at Baltimore Station and agrees to comply with the postal regulations and rules relative to the renting and use of post-office boxes.

If the box is rented for a corporation, the applicant should write on the lines below the name of the corporation; if for a firm, the name of the firm and the full name of each of its members whose mail is to be placed in the box.

Committee to Defeat the Smith Act

Signature of applicant Mary Roberts

Character of business Housewife

Business address None

Residence address 3800 W. Garrison Ave

References:

Marrin Baumsleeen 4821 Cordelia Ave
Mareella Arnet 3916 Motimer

Assigned Box No. 2542

Neol A. 5161 ex

GPO 16-47429-1

4/4

Postmaster
Jr

Mr. ARENS. Are you the leader of the Committee to Defeat the Smith Act?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds as previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Are you one of the leaders of the Baltimore Freedom of the Press Committee?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Mary Markward?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I refuse to answer that, as well, on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Mary Markward appeared before this committee and testified under oath that she knew you as a member of the Communist Party. Do you care, while you are under oath, to avail yourself of the opportunity to deny it?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I don't care to avail myself of the opportunity to either deny or affirm. Instead, I decline to answer the question on the grounds as previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Where is your home at the present time?

Mrs. ROBERTS. 3800 West Garrison Avenue.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a library there?

Mrs. ROBERTS. A library?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, ma'am.

Mrs. ROBERTS. What are you referring to?

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a library of books?

Mrs. ROBERTS. A lending library?

Mr. ARENS. No, do you have an accumulation of books and literature there?

Mrs. ROBERTS. Unfortunately, maybe not enough; but by the way, how do you come to probe into the fact whether I have a library or not?

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly answer the question? Do you have a library, an accumulation of books and literature at your home?

Mrs. ROBERTS. Sir, I question your right to ask me what books I have in my home.

Mr. ARENS. I ask you now, do you have a library for the Communist Party, a library of books and literature and publications presently maintained in your home?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I am afraid I do not understand that question. It is much too complicated for me.

Mr. ARENS. I will repeat it.

Mr. ROBERTS. Fine.

Mr. ARENS. Is your library the source for the Communist Party of Communist books, literature, periodicals of various kinds? That is pretty plain. I think you understand that, do you not?

Mrs. ROBERTS. No, I really don't. What do you mean by source?

Mr. ARENS. Does your home have an assemblage of books, literature, and periodicals issued by the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Mrs. ROBERTS. I have my own books. I do not know what you are referring to.

Mr. ARENS. Are they Communist Party books?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I have books that belong to me.

Mr. ARENS. Are they Communist books?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds of the fifth amendment, and I would like to add that I don't appreciate your line of questioning about books in my home.

Now, I made that point before. I frankly don't know what you are referring to; and, of course, if the chairs were reversed, I don't think you would appreciate if someone summoned you and asked you what books you have at home.

Mr. ARENS. Is the Daily Worker disseminated from your home in the Baltimore area?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds as previously stated, and adding my previous remarks to it. It applies to that question as well.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a member of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds as previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a member of any of the Rosenberg-Sobell committees?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a member of the Labor Youth League?

Mrs. ROBERTS. You don't give me a chance to even finish.

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon, I certainly intend to.

Mrs. ROBERTS. That is good.

Mr. ARENS. Have you completed your answer?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I have completed my answer to the previous question.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been a member of, or leader of, the Labor Youth League?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. ARENS. This committee of the United States Congress is seeking information on which to recommend legislation and for other purposes to protect the internal security of this country under whose flag you have protection.

Do you presently have information which you could give this committee respecting operations of the Communist Party in the Baltimore area?

Mrs. ROBERTS. You have first stated a fact which is open to debate, it is your opinion. If you will ask me a direct question, I will try to give you a direct answer.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, the question is very clear on this record. I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question.

Mrs. ROBERTS. May I have the question again?

The CHAIRMAN. Read the question to the witness.

(The pending question, as above recorded, was read by the reporter.)

Mrs. ROBERTS. As I have said before, there was a statement preceding the question. To the question, my answer is that I refuse to answer on the grounds as previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mrs. ROBERTS. In Racov. R-a-c-o-v.

Mr. ARENS. Where is that, please?

Mrs. ROBERTS. It is a small village in Poland.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mrs. ROBERTS. In 1926.

Mr. ARENS. Were you admitted for permanent residence?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I was.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen by naturalization or derivation?

Mrs. ROBERTS. What does that mean?

Mr. ARENS. Were you naturalized in a Federal court?

Mrs. ROBERTS. No, I was not.

Mr. ARENS. You are a citizen by derivation from your parents; is that correct?

Mrs. ROBERTS. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever traveled abroad since you arrived in the United States?

Mrs. ROBERTS. No.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever applied for a passport?

Mrs. ROBERTS. No.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, a word about your education. Where were you educated?

Mrs. ROBERTS. What do you refer to as education?

Mr. ARENS. What schools did you attend?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I attended up to the fourth grade.

Mr. ARENS. Did that complete your formal education?

Mrs. ROBERTS. That completed my formal education.

Mr. ARENS. What was your last principal employment preceding the employment about which you just told us.

Mrs. ROBERTS. I worked in various needle trade shops, shops that produced clothing of various types.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you lived in the Baltimore area?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I think I came here in 1931.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you live prior to that time?

Mrs. ROBERTS. In Philadelphia.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you live in Philadelphia?

Mrs. ROBERTS. From the time I came to the United States.

Mr. ARENS. What organizations do you belong to in the Baltimore area?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated ground, and I don't think that you should question me about it.

Mr. ARENS. Do you belong to any organizations not under Communist discipline or control?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I wouldn't know what you mean by that question.

Mr. ARENS. Well, do you belong to any sewing club—

Mrs. ROBERTS. Let me add here that the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan named the Antidefamation League and the NAACP last Sunday's program as Communist-dominated organizations. So, you see, these questions are very difficult to define. I wish that you would not probe my mind and I would not probe yours, what you mean by questions.

Mr. ARENS. Do you belong to the PTA?

Mrs. ROBERTS. My child is now in college, and therefore there is no PTA there.

Mr. ARENS. Do you belong to any women's social organizations?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Do you belong to any card clubs?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated ground; and you are probing, once again, as to how I live, and I resent that probing. It is not your business as to whether I play cards or I don't play cards.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this moment, a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. ROBERTS. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused.

The committee will stand in recess, to meet at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 2:40 p. m. Wednesday, May 8, the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m. Thursday, May 9, 1957.)

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